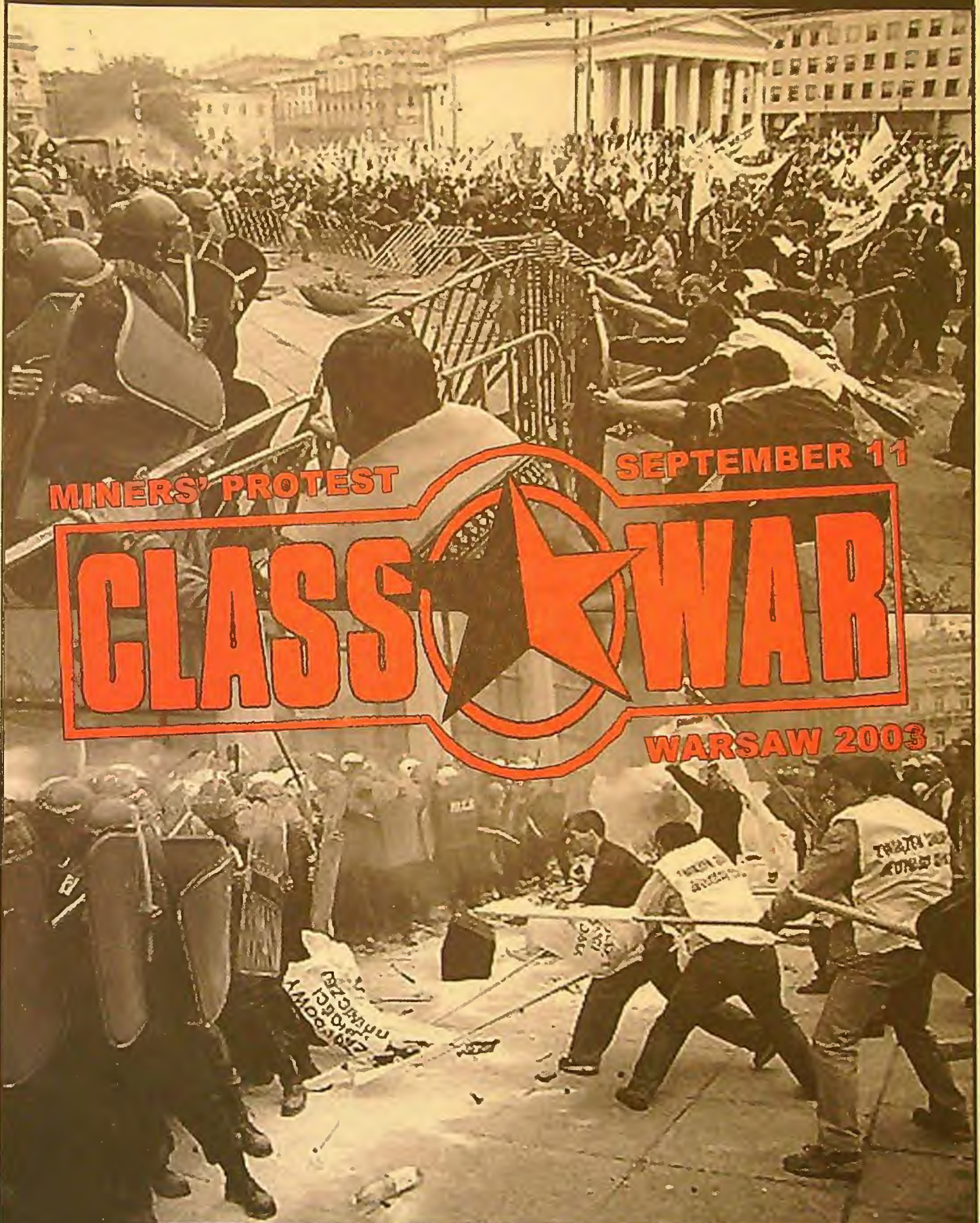


# ABOLISHING THE BORDERS FROM BELOW

issue # 12

bi-monthly newsletter

October 2003



MINERS' PROTEST

SEPTEMBER 11

## CLASS ★ WAR

WARSAW 2003

Anarchist courier from Eastern Europe



There is a justifiable need to abolish the borders between nations, societies, cultures and whatever else separates and defines us. In order that the process of their abolition does not lead to the formation of new borders or other types of segregation it has to be done from below, by the people not by elitist institutions such as The European Union, NATO or United Nations.

There is an enduring need to instantly abolish all states, governments and authoritarian institutions so that communities based on common values such as freedom, respect, collaboration and solidarity can be formed. These communities in turn can lead to the transformation of the world order into one based on the above mentioned values. In an attempt to push forward both of these goals with support for development from the anarchist movement above the borders we have created ...

## "Abolishing the Borders from Below" an anarchist courier from Eastern Europe

There are many reasons why it is necessary to put out this type of publication on a regular basis. There are a large number of anarchist groups in Eastern Europe who could operate much more effectively with a continual exchange of ideas, tactics, experiences and materials with similarly minded groups from all over Europe and the World. It is clear that many western activists are also interested in the ideas and actions of the "eastern anarchists". We believe it to be necessary to tighten the collaboration between east and west in resisting Fortress Europe, the globalization of the world economy, and above all capitalism and it's effects on our life. A mutual exchange of inspirations, motivations, and cooperation from anarchist communities all over Europe is needed on a day to day basis not only in times of international protests like the ones in Prague, Gothenburg and Genua. The intent of this paper is to set up a better network of communication between groups and individuals from different parts of this continent. The process of creating an editorial team for "AbolishingBB" was a great step toward this so we appeal to everyone to make the most of the information here as effectively as possible.

### An anarchist courier

Bi-monthly bulletin with information on different political and cultural anarchist/anti-authoritarian activities in Eastern Europe.

### Editorial collective

Is a part of an international anarchist collective based around east-european activists living in Berlin. As well as this publication the collective also organises an ABC support group, a libertarian library, organises various solidarity actions and cultural events, and supports local and global struggle against all kinds of oppression.

### Correspondents

Our great idea is to set up a stable network of correspondents from different regions of East Europe to cover the most current, important and interesting issues. Our correspondent team for today: Pavel (Prague - CS), Mato (Bratislava - Slovakia), Alek-Marija (Macedonia), Saszka-Nastya (Grodno/Minsk - Belarus), Antti-Tuuli (Moscow/ Petersburg - Russia), Dima (Vilnius - Lithuania), Ivo (Ryga - Latvia); Andrea & Subwar Collective (Belgrad - Yugoslavia), Maya-Tine (Ljubljana - Slovenia), Jelena-Suncana (Zagreb - Croatia), Tavi (Timisoara - Romania); Mutlu (Ankara - Turkey), Soja-Michu-Laure-Zaczek (Poland), Rebel M. (Serbia) and others. More correspondents needed!

### Other sources of info

These are: "alterEE" east-european-anarchists internet discussion list, "Warhead" - internet



info service of @-activities in Poland, ABC-Poland - info bulletin, "Avtonom" russian magazine of Autonomous Action Network, KOLOKOL newsletter "AACTIV Newsletter" from Romania.

### Co-operation

If you operate in Eastern Europe you can send to us info about protests, manifestations and other actions going on in your region ... you can present activities of groups, collectives and projects working in your neighbourhood ... you can inform us about up-coming political and cultural events ... you can present statements of your group on local or global issues, you can express your ideas, opinions or criticism ... everything from anarchist perspective. You can join our redaction collective as a correspondent sending regular reports covering different forms of acti-

vities in your region. Please texts send to:

[abolishingBB@hotmail.com](mailto:abolishingBB@hotmail.com)

Please send your graphics/photos only to:

[abolishingBBphotos@hotmail.com](mailto:abolishingBBphotos@hotmail.com)

If you operate in other parts of the world you can help with distribution (see below). You can spread information about this publication or just make the most of the information here as effectively as possible.

### Distribution

We are looking for people/collectives ready to distribute this publication on a regular basis in their regions (especially in southern Europe). Previous issues are as well available..Contact for distribution:

[wielkowitsch@hotmail.com](mailto:wielkowitsch@hotmail.com)

### Free copies/Print-Rin

Free copies go to all info-shops and libertarian libraries in Eastern Europe as well as to our correspondents who supply a postal address. We print by ourselves 1200-1500 copies of each issue, and there are some local groups which make more copies by themselves after our agreement on that.

### Sponsored

Money for printing is collected through our breakfast-benefits performed regularly in KOPI/Berlin as well as through our pizza-circus, and benefits from outside

### Deadlines

Deadlines for next issues:

#13 - 15.11.2003

#14 - 15.01.2004



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**"Did they learned a lesson from the past?"  
editorial proclamation and contents of the issue**

It took us this time two weeks longer than usual to publish a new issue of AbolishingBB. Laziness tendencies? Not at all. It was mainly caused by trips some of us have made in the last period. From one side it caused short delays, from the other, it brought quite a large portion of motivation and some new contacts around EE which hopefully will support the quality of our publication. Some of its effects could probably be visible already in this issue.

As you will find out during a lecture of #12 - the "EE anarchist society", though small, is very intensively trying to influence and change the reality wherever it is. And not only anarchist activists ... but also for example polish workers. About their struggle you will find quite a lot on the following pages. Especially the "visit" of polish miners in Warsaw. with their no-compromise attitude towards government politics and the spectacular attack of thousands on several government offices in the polish capital on September 11 - all of these cannot be ignored from an anarchist perspective. It is not that on polish workers banners or in their postulates, has there suddenly appeared an essence of anarchist ideas. but it would be blindness not to notice the following things: new dynamics in this movement, its mostly grass root structure feeds on big-union politics, its growing inner solidarity, increasing massivity and radicalisation of demands and forms of action. There are as well more and more contacts and practical actions undertaken commonly by workers and people from anarchist groups around the country. The September 11 2003 events in Warsaw were not only a symbolical act, but also proved how indignant, better organized and sure of their rights these people are. And we see the

minors from polish Silesia just as a part of tens of thousands of others which feel the same around Poland (see workers' protests calendar), and we see the polish workers' protests as just a part of a big discontentedness in the whole region, and we see millions of east european desperate people. as part of a global struggle. Well, of course we learned from the past and we still remember disappointment after the polish workers' movement, so strong and in such a good way in the 80-ies, getting split up and almost collapsing during the change of power in Poland and treason of Walesa & Co. But we want to believe that polish workers have learned from this lesson too! We are looking forward to the upcoming, organized by polish anarchist, meeting in Poznan on November 8 on which delegates of dozens of protesting communities from around the country will meet. We will report on it in the next issue.

Another topic which found quite a lot of space in this issue is the never ending Chechnya tragedy. As in the last issue we printed a statement from the Autonomous

**September 11 2003; Warsaw**



# WORKERS' PROTESTS IN POLAND

**"WE NEED TO REMEMBER THAT THE MINERS LIVE IN A SMALL AREA AND THERE ARE A LOT OF THEM. IT'S A TICKING BOMB"**

**"The method to catch and break won't work in Poland"**  
Miners rioting in Warsaw on September 11

On 11th of September nearly 10 thousand miners from Silesia protested against the closing of the mines in Poland. Last year the government said about necessity of dismissing 30 thousand miners. Under the threat of general strike the government withdrew their plans and retracted their statement. It proved to be just a pretence.

Warsaw, September 11. A clash between police and demonstrators started right from the beginning. The march targeted first the headquarters of the ruling SLD. Stones were thrown towards the building. The demonstration, that had in the meantime been made illegal, moved in front of the Ministry of Economy. There they clashed with the cordons protecting the governments' buildings. Demonstrators used, bangers metal rods and Molotovs cocktails, police - water canons, CS sprays and rubber bullets. The facade of the building was damaged. 40 window glass of Ministerium were smashed.

As a result of fights 62 policemen were hurt, some of them badly. 22 miners were given medical help, but the exact number of wounded is unknown. Home Officer assessed the damage for more than 200 thousand zlotys (nearly 50 thousand dollars). The government wants to punish protesting miners. They are to be arrested and the media has started a war against the organizers of the protest.

Although not all press comments are disapproving. Famous Silesian film and theatre director Kazimierz Kutz answering the question of Gazeta Wyborcza (the biggest nationwide newspaper) said "These people are defending themselves against degradation, inhuman treatment. I can't listen to this whimper, how many windows were smashed in the Ministry! For them the mob came and shit in the lounge. For the government there's no place for a man dying of hunger. And if they try to do the same as Margaret Thatcher

did with the miners they will regret it. The method to catch and break won't work in Poland. We need to remember that the miners live in a small area and there are a lot of them. It's a ticking bomb." While the editor of the biggest local newspaper comments: "The miners hear that Great Britan had a bigger problem with their miners but somehow managed to cope with that, under the hard hand of Margaret Thatcher. England will



Miners in Warsaw



nessed even bigger marches than we did on Thursday. I met Englishmen who until now remember their ex-premier with repulsion. They recollect contemporary papers full of news about suicides, the rapid increase in the number of alcohol and drugs addicts. Many who were made redundant have never found a job and stay on government benefits. Our reformers, who for a few years have been proclaiming a solution to the problem of the mining industry shouldn't look to the British patterns because it won't do them any good. Quite stupidly we accepted the change with its poverty, unemployment and increase of crime."

Infuriated representatives of the unions promise further protests. On the 12th of September meetings took place in the Silesian mines. "At the Friday meetings [the miners] agreed with my opinion" - said Marek Klementowski, vice president of miners "Solidarnosc" - "We need 10 thousand going to the capital. I am sure on the way more people will join us and there will be a 100 thousand."

The fight is on !

How far is to Argentina ?

## Calendar of Workers' Protests in Poland'2002

Despite the fact that nowadays in Poland manifestations aren't as popular and as crowded as those 10 or 20 years ago, a lot of observers agree that they are the biggest wave of social discontent since the beginning of 1990. It contains major trade of Polish marketplace like shipyard and car industry, mining industry, metallurgy and medical care as well.

The great majority of workers' protests relate to five fundamental questions. People stood against: dismissals, liquidations of the work places, not paying instalments for executed work, trying to introduce disadvantageous changes into the Labour Code, taking away trade privileges, not observing the work rules and the trade union's legislation by employers. It wasn't an exception when a couple of those factors played the crucial role.

Developing radical attitude to protest and consolidation tendency in the workers' movement were typical features of demonstrations happened in 2002. A lot of protesting employees from different plants supported each other: they established inter-firm and inter-trade committees that tried to co-ordinate the protesting action in plants, in trade, in the particular region or in the whole country.

Below we present fragments of calendar of the workers' protests in Poland in 2002 made by Workers Initiative of Anarchist Federation. It's just a small part of whole list, but probably it's enough to describe background, range and character of nowadays protests.

### THE CALENDAR:

**Ruda Slaska, 13.01.2002.**

A protest of miners in the "Halemba" Mine. The union trade's members carried out hunger-strike in order to receive unpaid salaries.

**Katowice, 23.01.2002.**

A strike of the employees from the zinc department in the "Szopienice" Foundry. According to the strikers an announcement about dismissing 540 workers breached the deal among an investor (Impexmetal) and the trade unions signed in 2000.

**Szczecin, 25.01.2002.**

About 2 thousand workers of the Szczecin shipyard broke off the work and protested under the seat of the company's management. They demanded paying off-outstanding salaries.

**Szczecin, 28.01.2002.**

About 1.5 thousand of workers from the Szczecin shipyard punctually at 10 a.m. left their work place and marched under the seat of the management with social and instalments' demands.

**Katowice, 31.01.2002.**

More than 100 people participated in common picket of teachers and workers from the "Szopienice" Foundry under the city-council building in Katowice against the policy of dismissals.

**Katowice, February 2002.**

Protesting actions of the "Szopienice" Foundry's workers against liquidation of the zinc department and dismissal of 540 people.

**Lublin, 4.02.2002.**

Several tens of former employees of Dazewo Motor Poland in Lublin came under the city-council building in order to receive unpaid salaries.

*to be continue on pages 7 and 25*

**"WE NEED 10 THOUSAND GOING TO THE CAPITAL. I AM SURE ON THE WAY MORE PEOPLE WILL JOIN US AND THERE WILL BE A 100 THOUSAND"**

# WORKERS' PROTESTS IN POLAND



# WORKERS' PROTESTS IN POLAND

"... POLISH SOCIETY BECOME INDIGNANT  
WITH PRESENT SYSTEM OF POWER IN GENERAL"

## The end of the strike in Uniontex

During the whole of June an occupation took place at the Uniontex SA - textiles factory in Lodz (central Poland). It was caused the workers rights being attacked. For a few months the workers were almost deprived of the means to live. The protest in Uniontex was an attempt to remind about unpaid wages and also to try to save the work place, endangered by the dishonest, almost criminal activity of the authorities of the enterprise. But from the beginning the workers were threatened by the bosses with immediate liquidation of the company. At the beginning the protesters were threatened with a lock-out, later by the illegalisation of the strike and the sacking of all the workers. The last decision of the company was to dismiss the workers, which was supposed to happen on the 30th of June. All of the actions of the company, despite their illegal character were accepted, because the unions involved in the dispute didn't take any steps either on a regional or national level, to support the protesting workers.

The strike committee gave up and on Friday 27th of June decided to sign an agreement with the company authorities. This agreement can be treated as a capitulation of the strikers because the owners didn't fulfill any of the demands. More, the government started prosecuting the leaders of the union, who were involved in the action. Police called Slawomir Kaczmarek, vicepresident of the Uniontex "Solidarnosc" into questioning on suspicion of "making threatening remarks" to take the president of the company away on a wheelbarrow. For that kind of deed he can get up to two years imprisonment. After a few days they called him again. They took his picture and finger prints. Workers Initiative of Anarchist Federation in Lodz is still in touch with the workers of Uniontex.

## Conference of Workers' Protests Movement in Poland Poznań, 8.11.2003

### Introduction

A new wave of workers' strikes in Poland has appeared after 22 years since Polish August happened (Solidarity Revolution) and after 13 years of the social and political changes beginning in 1989 (capitalism). In 2001 the social conflicts ran deeper. It is estimated that only in Warsaw about 183 demonstrations took place - what was the biggest abundance of social dissatisfaction since 1990.

In 2002 and 2003 number of open, especially workers' frictions in Poland has increased. Moreover, the employees have begun to organise the protests up and down the country. It goes without saying



September 11 in Warsaw

that the recent wave of strikes is a result of going on economical crisis but first of all it shows how strong the Polish society become indignant with present system of power in general. In nowadays "slump" the former social contradictions ignored up to now by the government, have appeared again. As we see even not the biggest depression clearly shows that "the king is naked". That's means the economical system just doesn't work: people aren't paid for their work for months, a lot of employees are threatened with losing their job, unemployment is increasing, the salaries are lowering, social rights are cut off.

The depression can't be deny so the government, in which people don't believe anymore and they stopped to listen to, can only recall to the institutional violence (what seems to be typical to the authorities in the state of emergency).

### Program

November 8; 2003

11.00. Beginig of Conference.

11.00-11.30. The workers' protests movement in 2002 and 2003. Remaind of most important facts. Evaluation.

11.30-13.00. Discussion about situations in particular working places and economic branches. Speeches of delegations from:

- H. Cegielski - Poznań S.A. (heavy industry)

- Hospitals: Rydygler Hospital from Wroclaw, Dega Hospital from Poznań, Pediatrical Hospital from Bielsk Podlaski, Hospital Medical Center of HCP from Poznań

- Sulzer Chemtech Poland (Poznań - chemical industry)

- Ozarow Factory - telecommunication branch

- PZL Swidnik Lublin - heavy industry

- Steelworks from Mlasczko Slaskie

- Uniontex Lodz - cotton factory

- Shipyards from Szczecin

- Salt Maine from Kłodawa

- Coalmanes from Silesia Region

- ect, etc.

13.00-14.00. Break.

14.00-15.00. Poland as a part of EU - new situation. Workers' and unions' protests in West Europa and Poland.

15.00-16.00. Possibilities of cooperations between the radical workers' movement in Europa.

16.00. Evaluation. The end of official part of Conference

17.00-21.00. Meetings after the Conference

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More Informations  
about situation in Poland:

[www.workers-initiative.poland.prv.pl](http://www.workers-initiative.poland.prv.pl)

"A lot of protesting employees from different plants supported each other"

# WORKERS' PROTESTS IN POLAND



### Calendar of workers' protests in Poland 2002

**Warszawa, 6.02.2002.**

More than ten people protested against breaching workers' rights and freedom of trade unions in the "Marriott" hotel in Warsaw.

**Warszawa, 12.02.2002.**

About 600 teachers from NSZZ "Solidarność" protested under the Sejm (unicameral legislature of Poland) against the educational policy and budgetary cuts in education.

**Lublin, 13.02.2002.**

One more time, several tens of former employees of Daewoo Motor Poland in Lublin came under the city-council building demanding their unpaid salaries.

**Laziska Górne, 13.02.2002.**

About 150 founders from "Laziska" foundry set up the roadblocks on the state route from Katowice to Wisła.

**Warszawa, 13.02.2002.**

About 2 thousand teachers from ZNP (Polish Union of Teachers) protested under Sejm against budget cuts and against shifting increases for teachers for the next year.

**Gdynia, 18.02.2002.**

About 1000 workers of Szczecin Shipyard began the occupation protest in order to show their solidarity with 30 dismissed people. 13 social postulate were settled while the management of the shipyard claimed that the strike was illegal. The protest finished with debacle after a week - the organizers were dismissed.

**Sosnowiec, 25.02.2002.**

Two hours' strike of the drivers from PKM took place in Sosnowiec.

**Szczecin, 04.04.2002.**

The dockyard workers from Szczecin are on obligatory leaves for one month. On 4th of April they were protesting in front of the management seat, demanding payment of their back pays. They also required to set the production in motion.

**Poznań, 10.04.2002.**

Almost 200 unionists from NSZZ "Solidarność" have picketed the Provincial Office of Wielkopolska, they were protesting against changes in the labour code.

**Warszawa, 10.04.2002.**

The demonstration of all - Polish Trade Union of Midwives and Nurses in front of the Parliament.

**Brzeg, 13.04.2002.**

"Solidarność 80" ("Solidarity 80") Trade Union organised the occupied protest in "Karna Foods" company in Brzeg. Strikers demanded unpaid salaries.

**Siemianowice Sl., 14.04.2002.**

Workers of the "Jednostka" Foundry protested under the seat of the management; the strikers demanded their unpaid salaries.

**Łódź, 15.04.2002.**

Members of all trade unions from region of Łódź and unemployed have manifested in front of parliamentary office of Leszek Miller in Łódź, they were protesting against changes in the labour code.

**Poznań, 17.04.2002.**

Inicjatywa Pracownicza (Workers Initiative) and Federacja Anarchistyczna (Anarchist Federation) have organised a happening against changes in the labour code.

**Lublin, 19.04.2002.**

Almost 500 unionists from "Solidarność" ("Solidarity") from all over the region were protesting against planned changes in the labour code.

**Torun, 23.04.2002.**

Several hundred of drivers and carriers were protesting in the centre of Torun against too high local taxes. Taxi- and truck - drivers were driving around the streets and tooting.

**Ozarów, 23.04.2002.**

Unionists from Cables Factory in Ozarów were blockading the firm's gates by trucks. They announced that their protest will be last till the management which want to suppress the factory, will defer dismissal. Finally the staff addressed a postulate about taking possession of the factory.

**Kraków-Nowa Huta, 24.04.2002.**

About 1500 founders took part in manifestation in front of the main gate of Tadeusz Sendzimir's Foundry.

**Katowice, 25.04.2002.**

Demonstration of 600 workers from the "Jednostka" foundry under the building belonging to the head of the company. The strikers demanded due wages. Several tens of workers occupied the management's building.

**Warszawa, 26.04.2002.**

Demonstration of tens thousands of people have walked through the streets of Warsaw. The unionists from "Solidarność" from all over the country came to the capital city to protest against the amendments of the labour code.

**Nysa, 06.05.2002.**

In Nysa Motor has started a stay - in strike. Striking unionists are demanding taking up a dialogue with the government. They wrote: "In result of Daweoo FSO's politic Nysa Motor is now in situation of total bankruptcy..." The factory is now under control of protesting staff and special committee. Workers are protesting because since December they don't get their jays and the management want to declare an insolvent. In Nysa there's a social committee that helps protesting people - it rise funds and food.

**Szczecin, 13.05.2002.**

The demonstration of workers of the Szczecin Dockyard walked through the streets. They were demanding payment of back pays and setting the production in motion. In the demonstration took part about 1500 - 2000 people.

**Katowice, 15.05.2002.**

"Miller and Hausner go away!!!" were scanning the unionists from Solidarity who gather in front of Provincial Office in Katowice. On the manifestation came almost 1000 people.

**Nysa, 15.05.2002.**

People protesting for ten days against the clearance of company were demonstrating on the streets of the city. ("Nowiny Nyskie")

**Szczecin, 15-16.05.2002.**

Another demonstration of dockyard workers.

**Katowice, 16.05.2002.**

Several hundred employees of the "Baidon" foundry protested in the first anniversary of shutting down their plant.

**Poznań, 23.05.2002.**

In front of the gate of HCP Factory in Poznań Workers Initiative / Anarchist Federation section Poznań, Solidarity 80 and Konfederacja Pracy organised a picket. The demonstration was an act of solidarity with striking people from Szczecin, Ozarów and Nysa. They were demanding to stop liquidation of work places and resignation of inefficient government. In action took part about 50 person. Next actions in Poznań were announced.

*to be continue on the page 25*

## Proposal for next year No Border camp

### Proposal for a stronger network between western and eastern european activists

There took place a workshop concerning this issue on the bordercamp in Cologne and I try to give a brief summary. About 20 people who joined this workshop agreed that relationships between eastern and western european activists should become stronger. One reason which was mentioned was that the EU border regime is strengthening its borders by EU east extension. The effects that this will have on the people in east european countries will increase more and more. This development seems not to be effecting the political strategy of the bordercampers in Cologne and also not of that in Straßbourg and Frankfurt.

On the workshop was discussed a proposal that western europe (especially German) anti border activists should make efforts to support initiatives from east european activists, set up the bordercamp in eastern europe, and make more propaganda for this, in order to motivate more people from western europe to join the east european camp with the effect to strengthen the relationships.

There was a lot of criticism on this proposal. It was criticised that this project would be so big, that it would be very difficult to find a local group who would organise the local stuff for this camp. Furthermore it was mentioned that there is a big probability that the activists of eastern europe are more interested in building and increasing eastern european networks. Perhaps through debating about political issues that concern only east european issues and not so much about the relations between eastern and western parts of europe, like EU east extension and the resistance against EU-border politics. Another criticism is that it would be senseless to motivate western european people to join a bordercamp in east europe. Evidence for this was the no border tour this year. It was well supported with propaganda, but with not so much success, if you look at the number of western european people who take part in east european camps.

Nevertheless, there are already efforts to give the next bordercamp an input in this direction. There are discussions to set up the next bordercamp in Vienna or directly at the border between Austria and Slovakia. But this depends on the possibilities of the local groups in Vienna and Bratislava. It was noticed that a camp in EU countries like Austria make big problems for eastern europe people to join, because of visas and high costs.

So therefore, it would be good to set up the camp in an eastern europe country, to avoid these problems a little bit.

The workshop stops with the exchange of positions, but for the next step it would be good to get comments from east european activists and local groups:

1. If they see a sense in making a border-camp about problems due to the EU-east-extension and strengthening relationships between eastern and western activists;
2. If they can imagine to set up a camp with these issues in their area. (as Vienna/Bratislava option is only a proposal, not more!)

It would be good, if a debate will start on different east european meetings, mailing lists, magazines, like *Abolishing the Borders from Below* and so on.

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In this situation we feel provoked to write here a few words. At first as our magazine still remains a BI-MONTHLY publication we don't think it is the best idea to lead a discussion on *AbolishingBB* pages as it would be a very slow process. Of course we are interesting in publishing the most interesting statements, critics, developments and decisions. So what we can do right now is to call all persons/groups from Eastern Europe which would like to take a statement on above mentioned topics to send them for a next issue of *AbolishingBB*. But as a main field for discussion itself we would rather suggest more direct ways.

Regarding to the main topic we see one problem in it. Among east-european anarchist/anti authoritarian groups there are many differences considering no border issues. We don't believe it is possible to find a model, space and character of camp which would satisfy most of them. In last weeks we notice that there was born very interesting and strong ideas of organizing next years camp in one of the east-european countries which has never guested such an event and where any political action in contemporary situations has a very special meaning. However it does not look like this camp would have a strict anti-border character. It could remain open for such issues as well as for many others. Eventually positive development of that project would probably give the whole discussion an interesting direction. Unfortunately, the process of evaluation of that idea is not clear so far. We need to wait a bit for some more specific info.

*AbolishingBB*



### Black Block in World Peace Day Actions Istanbul - Turkey

Black Block consisting of anarchists, participated in 1st of September World Peace Day protests - on 31st of August meeting organized by "Coordination of No War in Iraq" in Sisli-Abide-i Hurriyet square and on 1st of September press release organized by "Global Peace and Justice Coalition" in Beyoglu-Odakule. Anarchists were carrying black and green-black flags and in Sisli banners of "Capitalism Kills" and "Armies Need U, Do U Need Them?". Following slogans were shouted during the actions: "Reject - Resist - Say No Don't be a Soldier!", "Land Commun Liberty! - Love Revolution Anarchy!", "Whether U Accept the Motion or not - We Won't be Soldier!", "All States Are Murderers!", "Killer State It Will be Destroyed!", "No God - No State - Love Love Liberty!", "Capitalism Kills - Both in Peace and War!", "Direct Action Against Capitalism!", "No War - Class War!". About the end of the demo in Beyoglu there was a short argument between BAK people (Peace and Justice Coalition) and anarchists related with anarchists' protest to Bedri Baykam. But later it was solved ...

### "Isimsiz" and "Kara Gazete" new anarchist magazines in Turkey

Our new [anarchist] counter-magazine "Isimsiz" ("Nameless") is out, it has no name, you'll recognize it with its fully black cover. Soon, you'll be able to find it in lots of cities. It has 64 pages and we distribute it in 1.5 M. TLs. You can ask for it via writing to:

isimsiz\_dergi@yahoo.com

It contains @nti-culture, @nti-art, @nti-literature parts inside. Content: Anti-Global Heating; Greek/Burning Streets; Anarchist Soccer League (METU); @nti-Literature; @nti-METU; Indians; Yezidi people; Thesis on Authority; and many more...

Another magazine is newsletter "kara gazete" ("black paper") from Istanbul, which is put on the walls and has its electronic version at: <http://karagazete.ports.com>

### Revolt against Thermal Power Plant

#### Biga - Turkey

Biga, a town of Canakkale province, in which local people deals with agriculture and livestock is facing danger of thermal power plant that is told to be activated in the near future. Local people revolted against the plant, which is planned to act on fossil waste. Biga inhabitants saying "nature and human life are in danger" are speedily getting organized against the power plant. A group of Biga inhabitants tried to come nearby the plant by a boat to take shot (photos and video shot). However security staff did not let them to dock nearby using pressurized water against them. Continuously press releases,

panels, and discussions are being organized in the town. Posters titled "RIGHT NOW! NO TO THE THERMAL POWER PLANT!! WHEN, IF IT IS NOT NOW?" were hanged on every corner of the town. People's response against the power plant is growing day by day.

#### Environmental effects of thermal power plant

Sulfur and nitrogen oxides, which are discharged through the chimneys go to interaction and create acid rains. Acid rain causes dying of the trees, falling of the leaves, and trees may no longer bloom and bear fruit. Erosion that appears after the diminishing of forests and drying of the soil causes loss of large amounts of soil. These gases also affect the life of both human-beings and animals. In thermal power plants water is used for various purposes such as cooling, steam producing and cleaning. Even if the waste water - that appears after all those operations - is retreated again and again, in any case it causes environmental pollution.

### Black Bloc against the system and the war

#### Ankara - Turkey

On 27 September, Black Bloc that was formed by nearly 100 anarchists and anti-authoritarians who came from the different cities like Istanbul, Izmit, Izmir, Malatya in Turkey, was a part of a protest in Ankara against the System and against the War on the date of Intifada. Libertarian Socialists, Green Anarchists and anarcho-feminists who formed Black Bloc distributed nearly 600 pieces of communiques during the action. Another people that were watching the action of Black Bloc were very interested to the Black Bloc ... The communiques that are distributed was these: "Another War Can Be Possible" by Libertarian Socialists; "War is Civilisation, Peace is Anarchy" by Green Anarchists; "No War But Primal War" by Green Anarchists; "No Revolution can be Possible Without Women" by Anarcho-Feminists

Finally Anarchists burned their flags and finished the action. Afterwards they led a meeting in a cafe for planning together the further actions.

This is text of the leaflet distributed at the anti-war demo by anarchists on the 27th of september in Ankara.

"Another war is possible!"

#### Wars and Classes

The main source of social exploitation, inequality and wars is global capitalism. Instead of going to war for bosses by the order of politicians somewhere, it is smarter to wage a "war" against bosses and politicians everywhere. The essential struggle for the overthrowing of capitalism and for lasting peace must be carried out on a class basis. When carried out detached from class struggle; anti-war or feminist, environmentalist-ecologist etc. movements do not have a chance to be successful.

#### Libertarian Socialism

The "Real Socialism" experiences of the 20th. century can be thought of more as how socialism should not be than how socialism should be. Party dictatorships and bureaucratic totalitarian regimes under the name of "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" have nothing to do with the ideals of equality and freedom. Socialism in the real sense can be assured with the existence of institutions such as councils and federations which are the laborers' own organs of self-rule; where decisions can be realised by means of direct democracy, without being subject to any authority.

#### Bridging Utopia and Today

The question of what kind of world we want is intertwined with how we are to reach that world. Neither repeating utopic slogans detached from reality at every opportunity nor swaying away from a libertarian social struggle due to various concerns is the right method. During struggle against problems this system creates, the infrastructure of a free, equal and just society must be constructed. Struggling against today's social problems, while may sometimes appear as demanding reform or being limited to a single issue, when ordinary people see that they can change things by coming together in solidarity, there is no reason for them not demanding more. When struggles where everyone has an equal right to voice, responsibility and decision are seen to be the most successful struggles, the new society will have been started to be constructed within and against the shell of the old one. [Liberter-A-resist.ca](mailto:Liberter-A-resist.ca)

### "Revolta!" new anarchist newsletter out Romania

First issue of "Revolta!" the romanian newsletter is out. You can find inside articles about: no border camp in timisoara; antiwar actions in romania; direct actions, the spirit of revolt - P.Kropotkin, interview with class war federation; interview with Oi Polloi band, 2 pages on the scene and the events this summer in poland, anarchism or terrorism?, black bloc, and others.

The buletin is in romanian language. People who want to send in contributions for the second issue should do it until 15 october. Contact:

[aactivistcollective@yahoo.com](mailto:aactivistcollective@yahoo.com)

### One man workers struggle Vranje - Croatia

In the beginning of August 43-years old worker at "Novi Salonit" factory in Vranje found out, that his name is on the list of people to be fired. As an answer he detonated 3 bombs, which set on fire factory. Nobody got injured. Caught he said to the police, that he had planned to kill manager of the firm. He is in jail and he's gonna be charged for attempted murder and bringing innocent's people life in danger.



### **"We live in the archaic society" Abel Paz meeting with polish anarchist in Warsaw - Poland**

Abel Paz, spanish anarchist participant of spanish civil war in 1936 and author of several books from this time (his last one) was visiting Poland in last days of September. Invited by Anarchist Federation (FA) he spoke to anarchists in Poznan, Warsaw and Krakow. In Poznan he met as well some delegates of polish unionist from "Solidarnosc 80". The meeting in Warsaw, was organised in the "Praha" movie theatre and gathered about 50 anarchist mostly from Warsaw as well as some who arrived from other cities. Relying on relation of people which took part in the meeting day before, Abel was a bit grumpy and less talkative than in Poznan. He made a small scandal. He provoked polish comrades to ask him less historical but more current questions and than when asked about his opinions about the "Black Block" and the strategies of the anarchist movement today, he said that the Black Block are not anarchists, but tourists at best and provocateurs at worst. He was as well very sceptic about so called anti-globalisation movement (and its anarchist aspects) but he said as well that he is watching its development with some dose of hope. Some humorous anecdote was how people tried to drag Abel into the current debate within Polish FA about whether or not they should join the Anarchist International IFA. Abel was giving all sorts of weird answers, and the two camps (one was for, one against the joining) were making interpretations of his words in support of their own option. In some point Abel met with huge applause calling Pope as an idiot. The movie about Durrutti's life was presented as an introduction to the meeting. In interesting

### **George W. Bush called as a witness to testify before the polish court**

**Krakow - Poland**

An anarchist from Krakow stands a trial accused of organising an illegal demonstration against the war in Iraq. In his statement of defence, the anarchist said that he was unable to fulfil all the formalities required for legalising a demonstration in time because president Bush kept the date of outbreak of war in secret. To prove his point, the anarchist demanded that president Bush testifies before the court. The court still didn't make a decision whether to call the witness.

### **Anti-fascist Festival Sofia - Bulgaria**

On September 13-15, the group "Anarchist Resistance" held an anti-fascist festival in Sofia.

On the 13th there was a punk concert with groups from United States, Romania and Bulgaria. In the evening, films about anti-capitalist protests in Seattle, Prague, Genoa and Thessaloniki. Greek anarchists, members of "anti-authoritarian movement Salonika 2003", gave info about the events around the EU summit in Thessaloniki.

On the 15th, a debate on the *Face of Resistance from Anarchism to Antiglobalism* took place. Members of the Anarchist Federation of Bulgaria, "BD Salonika 2003" and others took part.



**Anarchist Resistance on the streets of Sofia**

### **Antifascist activities in Sighisoara and Timisoara Romania**

Antifascists from Craiova went to the medieval art festival in Sighisoara in 25-28 July. The festival is known as a point for gathering of all subcultures, and for the past 1-2 years as well noua dreapta, a new right fascist group was present there with fascist propaganda. This year antifascists went there with antifa leaflets and ready to confront the fascists, but they didn't appear this year. Also new connections were made and a new group of antifascists appeared in Bacau, a city in the north-east of Romania.

Another antifa graffiti campaign started in city of Timisoara. Antifascists cleaned some of the remaining swastikas around the city. Also antifascist graffiti were made on the walls of a building where some nazis live. They are active in their scene in Timisoara (meaning 5-10 people). This was done to expose them to the neighbors and to show that we are not kidding! We urge all comrades in east europe to also clean their cities of swastikas, because it's not a comfortable feeling for friends from abroad visiting you, to walk in a city full with swastikas, especially if they really don't know the situation in the city! Also a bad gossip. It seems that the legionnaires (older fascist) in Timisoara put a magazine, which is available on the stands together with the other official newspapers. It's still just a rumour, but if it's real measures need to be taken! actiunea antifascista

### **Anarchist presence at festival Sariyer - Turkey**

Some anarchists visited the d barisarock (rockforthepeace) concerts in Sariyer. More than hundred copies of poster calling for 27 sep. global day of action against the war were distributed among young people. Also other anarchist press (published by Black Paper) was given to people and there was very much interest. A significant detail ... in the area just one of those newspapers was torn and thrown away. Except this lots of bak leaflets etc. on the ground ... this probably shows the interest of people. A black flag on which there was the logo of Black Paper was carried from hand to hand all day during the concert. In breaks of the concert many slogans were shouted. ("no war class war") Although ödp and anticapitalists [\*] tried to make things to move on according to their policies, the organization was good. [\* - trotkist group] [barisarock-rockforthepeace concerts were organized in Istanbul as an alternative against the rock'n'coke organized by coca cola company during the same days (6-7 sep.). Organizers were mostly some dissident people and socialists; there were also anarchist/libertarian minded singers and bands such as Kazim Koyuncu, Yasar Kurt and Kara Gunes(Black Sun)]

### **Antifa Actions in Bialystok - Poland**

Due to fact that local nazis became active again, local antifa starts anti-fascist patrols again on the city. Mobilization of people for Food Not Bombs action was good (2 previous action had been approached by nazis and people decided that they can't let any fight happen on that kind of action) but this time nazis didn't come, probably because of fact that one of their leaders was badly injured in fight 2 days before. 2 days before (3rd of October) nazis attacked one person outside squat. Reaction of antifa was rather quick and 15 minutes later group of 12 nazis was attacked by 5 antifascists in a centre of city. Nazis were taken by surprise and started retreating, but due to advantage of numbers, pushed anti-fascist back. Bricks, trash cans, sticks and gas throwers had been used. 3 anti-fascist suffered minor wounds, at least 4 nazis were also wounded, one of them more serious. 3 antifas and 2 nazis had been detained for 1 hours by cops. There is possibility that they will receive fines for breaking of public order.

### **5th edition of Girlz in Action festival Bialystok - Poland**

On 27th of September there was 5th edition of anarcho-feminist festival *Girlz in Action* on DeCentrum squat in Bialystok. About 150 people attended concert and exhibitions in squat's gallery. During a concert all squat was full of pro-choice and pro-women rights messages.

Before the concert about 20 nazis attacked members of one band, when they were shopping. In a fight 3 people from band and 1 or 2 nazis had been injured. Intervening antifa team got caught in fight with old football hooligans, who took them for hooligans from opposite team.



## "We have nothing to loose, because we already have nothing" TWO HOUSES EVICTED AND NO HOME FOR SQUATTERS IN LJUBLJANA

story by Maya

Avtonomna Cona Galicija is a name of 3-moos old squat in Ljubljana, Slovenija. Galicija was squatted in July because we had to leave previous squat AC Molotov (you can read about AC Molotov history in past issues of *AbolishingBB* - edit.). About 15 people, some from Molotov some new, squatted a nice house in the beautiful quiet area about 10 minutes walk from centre of the city. We put about 2 moos of hard work in the house - cleaning, repairing the roof, making living and working place. We almost finished anarchist library, we made place for video projections, lectures and meetings, living rooms, kitchen and a nice garden wich was before looking terrible as same as all house looked like. Name Galicija comes from the old printing-office which was found in the cellar and was called like this. It was probably illegal and served to partisans during time of war.

AC Galicija stands on the street Prijateljstva 26 (- Friend's street) in the area called Prule. People around are very nice and especially first days of working they were coming every day talking that they are very happy that they see a house full of working young people. Before house was looking scary and was falling apart. One day we made presentation for the neighbours with video-projections and working shops for children (who come every day looking at the dogs). A lot of them came and were very happy.

First days of squatting were giving very positive feeling. We were very quiet and after 4 days came police. First the people hid inside and police couldn't entered. Second time they came with one of the owner who had key from back doors of the house and opened it. Let me mention that police found out which day we are going to squat new house, because police car was parked in front of the house we had wanted to squat before we chose house on Prijateljstva street (we had luck they were wrong). Police cars was also driving around Molotov and asking people if they are moving out and where they will go. Of course they didn't get the answer.

So, police managed to enter the house and took names of 9 people who were in the house. This was actually their first and last visit. In previous squats they had the habit to come and harass people until we start calling media every time they came. This time they learned the tactics - behaving very nice and friendly, call owners immediately and tell them what to do.

AC Galicija has 6 owners who are fighting on the court for 18 years for this house. The process is near the end (all the real estates must be privatised until may-month when Slovenia enters EU). The owner who came with the police said he doesn't care, but we later found out he sold out his part of the house. 3 other owners put the charges on the court demanding we go out of the house immediately, because we: destroyed all the house; have stolen some worth stuff that was in the house (it was not there when we came); make troubles to the neighbours who had already wanted to throw us out but couldn't do it because police was on our side (that were threatings from local gangs who saw junkies in us but we talked later and they stopped making troubles); repaired the roof that didn't need to be repaired (one room had a big hole in the ceiling); made living place a business place (-anarchist library); coloured the windows; are group from Molotov who separated from basic group because we didn't obey their rules; are putting posters saying «Solidarity» and so we make propaganda to another people to squat and so they have to stop us now;...and similar bullshit. **THEY GOT THE CHARGE DEMANDING WE LEAVE THE HOUSE IN 8 DAYS.**

We made some nice video projections and lectures and opened a bar which was made by friends from Germany. We talked with a lawyer and he said

there are too many incorrectnesses in the charge and that is very strange that they got charge like this. We put a complaint to the court and if the answer comes until date of eviction, we can maybe stay for one month or two more (that would give us enough time to find another house). But we don't want to go to the court and give money for the fight that is already lost. We got the date for eviction - 26th September at 9 in the morning. We contacted the owners and got different aspects. One old woman was ready to drop the charges if others also do it and said that police told her not to come near the house to avoid the incidents. Other owner was totally mad saying that private property is holy thing and he will put charges on us and our children.

So we couldn't make dialog with the owners to stay in the house at least until end of summer which will come in about 2 moos.

Not only that there is big pressure from outside on the squatters, there are also some inner problems: some people moved from the house immediately after they heard the bad news, some are looking for the flats, some are looking for empty houses; some wanted to move out before the day of eviction, some of



us wanted to stay and fight until last moment. At the beginning there were almost 20 people and now there are 13 of us. People come when the pressure ends. Sad, but true. I personally see the meaning of squatting as an idea which says we have to resist in every matter - if there is private or state's property. House was falling apart for 18 years and they want to have it now when we came. We just want to borrow the house for some time (but not only 3 moos), not to take it. And if we have so good back up from the media and neighbours, why don't we try?

Finally we decided to squat another house. We chose the house owned by city, because we thought it would be the easiest. But we were wrong. The house called Venera-shop was not so far away from Galicija and was ment to be destroyed in the future, because there are plans to build the road there. We wanted to ask the city to stay there for winter. There was somebody already in the house and we thought it is some homeless person, because almost all empty houses in Ljubljana are like this. We got the key, because it was in the doors from inside (the guy was inside, but he was locked in the room and did not reply). We went inside the day before eviction of Galicija and brought about 3 cars of things inside. Then we got nice visit - the police. They came inside because there was one guy calling them and saying we had broken inside. They came with loaded guns shouting: «If you don't put the dog on the rope I will shoot!» They came and

wanted to throw us out together with our things. Fortunately there were two of our friends there with foto-cameras pretending to be media. And there was one policeman who we knew from before and was very nice. He made the deal with the guy who opened the doors that we can stay till monday and then this guy will destroy the house, because he has all legal papers to do it. So we had to left the house to go to the police station. 5 people, and left the things inside.

Like usual, we waited for long time at the police station and they made card files. I found out they have my finger prints from spanish police through the Interpol and that on the chair where they make photos was sitting the president of Slovenija in the past. We heard about raids in other empty houses (some policeman were talking to us normally) and that they have one floor empty at the police station (would be a nice squat!). They said we can't go inside the house again, because that man was not the real owner and that we can get the things next morning at 8 o'clock. We argued to get our things back, because there were all our personal things, includings clothes and sleeping bags. But no. Other people were waiting outside the police station, while police was patrolling in front of the house. We found out that the man who was living in the house was the worker who was preparing house to destroy it. They wanted to let us out from the police station, because you have no right to be taken back to the place from where you were arrested. But there was a policeman who felt bad and took us with his car to Galicija, where we slept the last night, for about 4 hours. We woke up and some went to the Venera to ask for things and some people stayed in Galicija waiting for eviction. There was police in front of Venera and they didn't know anything about the things. They asked the chief and said to us to come at 2 o'clock afternoon. We were totally mad, freezing for so long time and sleeping almost nothing. We waited until 2 and again nothing. They put Security G7 there who also didn't know nothing and said we have to ask the police. We called the police and they said they have nothing more to do with this house. The man who will destroy the house said that he can not come and that we come next morning. He had showed us the papers that were saying he have can legally destroyed the house, while one journalist called the city council and found out they still don't have plans when to destroy this house. On question what they think about squatters being homeless now, they said they don't know. And we knew before that they still don't have permission to destroy the house, because they have to destroy also one house nearby where lives an old woman who doesn't want to go out. The security guy told us that that guy was known for destroying on black and has support of the police, so there is no way we can stay there. Those security guys were older and very nice, so we made the deal that we can take our things out if we give them the key. We did this and took finally all our things out.

Galicija was evicted on time. There were workers, police, owners and judge. One neighbour said he heard the oldest owner saying to other owners: «You will never see this house looking so nice as now.» They shut him down. They closed the house, but let the window opened, which gives perfect chance for junkies to squat the house.

We stayed homeless. We got two rooms in Metelkova (ex-squatted cultural centre in Ljubljana), but there is a lot of work there. We will clean and repair the place, so we will have meeting place and a place to sleep if we get thrown out from the house again. We have full truck of the things we have nowhere to put and we have to find new house very quickly, before winter. Maybe we will try to make contact with the owner before we squat it. But I don't think we can achieve anything. We must try. We have nothing to loose, because we already have nothing.



## Campaign for community center Network of Social solidarity Zagreb - Croatia

by Jelena

After the summer calm, hot autumn has begun in Zagreb with the squatting of an ex-print warehouse. The "Mreza Drustvene Solidarnosti" collective (Network of Social Solidarity) established a Take-it or Leave-it Shop, with a plan to host a Food not Bombs kitchen and to open some kind of community center, an oasis of non-consumerism and solidarity in the neighbourhood - a place where people can socialize without paying for anything. To enjoy a free tea or coffee (from a Chiapas cooperative), exchange clothes and goods, share skills and knowledge in the form of workshops, talks, presentations or discussions which anyone could lead or attend. Unfortunately, the place lived for just ten days - the police evicted us on september 30. Police blocked the squat from 5pm till 10pm, because the owner asked them to intervene but as he didn't have the proper deeds and was not using the building, we refused to leave. We told the police that, on the advice of our lawyer, we were



within our rights and would stay inside indefinitely. The police continued to hold us inside the building, but they did not prevent our neighbors in the community from entering the store. While the police waited outside, an elderly man came to the store and helped himself to some pants and a shirt, while another couple passed by the police and brought us several bags of used clothes and dishes. The police, quite confused, stood outside and speechlessly watched this display of solidarity from the community. Eventually, they put up police tape to prevent our neighbors from visiting anymore.

Towards 8pm, the owner returned with a cadre of lawyers and a piece of paper stating the property belonged to him. We had not expected his return with this paper, because from previous research we believed the building to be property of the Croatian state, anyway the building was not being used! After his return, the police again began to pressure us to leave the building. They claimed we could serve up to three years in jail for trespassing if we refused to leave and they entered forcibly. After several discussions, we reluctantly decided to leave the building rather than risk arrest and imprisonment. We were then brought to the police station for "informational interviews". Unfortunately, one of our group, a visiting American activist, had not registered with the police upon entering the country and was placed in jail for the night, but they released everyone else after their interrogations. In the following days police repression continued with an early morning raid on a residential squat and house visits to some of the activists.

After a few days of reflection and discussion within the local anarchist community, we have decided to continue our own research into the possibility of retaking the space together with actions in the neighborhoods around the squat, to help increase community support for the concept of a "free shop", and to hopefully prepare them for a re-opening of the store in a location sometime soon.

## Squat is being created in Belgrade !!!

by Rebel Mouse

I occupied one old, big house in the center of the town and I am inside already one month. Owner is living in Paris, he is very rich and one old man takes care about house (he turned every night and morning light in the garden on and off, now he doesn't do it anymore). I think that they are hoping that I (or soon: we) will clean house so they still didn't send cops. Other anarchists and punx come here also. They help about cleaning of rooms, moving of furniture, some of them will give com-

puter for squat when we realize electricity, etc. In any case, here will not be the place only for sleeping but for anti-authoritarian activities also. So, it was started as a roof for my poor head, but during the time it is becoming squat with ambitions to be a base for various activities. Therefore we are planning to realize inside of it: library, Belgrade Indymedia, lectures, discussions, projections of films, etc. I hope that we will succeed to realize all our plans. I would like to say also that somebody who travel through Belgrade can contact us in order to visit us or to sleep here, of course, free/without costs. Just let us know several days before you come here and we will take care about it.

Contact: Rebel House,  
Petersen Sascha  
Dobracina 15

11000 Belgrade  
Serbia and Montenegro

When we get web hosting and e-mail for squat we will send you info about it. Now contact e-mail is: rebelhouse@everyday.com

Of course, squat is in the time of burning/creating, so we need any kind of help or information from you about your activities (books, magazines, newspapers, CDs or video with films, etc). You know already what one squat needs, you have experience about it. This is first time that one anti-authoritarian squat will be created in Serbia so we don't have experience about it, except some rarely people who had chance to travel abroad and to visit squats (we are still isolated from other people in Europe). But we will learn from our mistakes ...

## News from Autonomists Collective

### Torun - Poland;

by Michu & Tytus

#### Locations

In Torun, the heart of independent activity, are still existing two places attracting local anarchist community. First of them - Pilon which is situated in the centre of the city (under the bridge, Bulwar Filadelfijski 1) is the well known place - pub where concerts and tekno parties are taking place. There were loads of Polish and foreign bands playing there (mostly one per week). There are not so many places in Poland with atmosphere like Pilon

Second place is a bunker "B48" situated at Wschodnia street in the district Rubinkowo 1. There are not only concerts organized but also reviews of independent movies from time to time. B48 is also a place where are two rehearsal rooms and many different young bands can practice there at low cost. B48 crew uses this money to carry on the bunker and its activity.

#### Organizations

Kolektyw Autonomistow  
(Autonomists Collective) is

a legal association interested in organizing cultural events, antiracist and ecological activity. It's been active since 1995. Most recent action: organizing 5th edition of antiracist football cup "We play football even when it's raining".

Federacja Anarchistyczna FA - formed in 1999 as a section of polish FA, project for independent local political actions mostly monitoring of local government and anticapitalist actions. Most recent action: local anti UE poster campaign. Today those groups are mixed. They meet once a week in Pilon. Their website: [www.1984.most.org.pl](http://www.1984.most.org.pl) (sorry but only in Polish).

In Torun there also exist a local collective of Polish indymedia - [pl.indymedia.org](http://pl.indymedia.org). Its goal is to develop independent journalism and media. Its been now a year since its activity has started. Collective has its meetings once a week in NRD cafe.

#### Events

On the 4th of October in bunker "B48" there will be a benefit concert for Tomek Wilkoszewski (more info: [www.tomek.most.org.pl](http://www.tomek.most.org.pl)), with some anarcho-punk bands from region like Biala Goraczka, Egzema, Histeria.

On the 8th of November in "Piwnica pod Aniolem" (club in the centre of the city) there will be an artistic event in with our friends from Berlin are taking part. Mike Spike Froidl "Don Chaos" will present his works which directly and without useless symbolism show dark cases of today such as neo-Nazi or child pornography in the internet. There will be also film presented and short but expressive performance. The same event will take place a day before on squat Rozbrat in Poznan.

#### Contact

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# "Dealinig with war, war makers and apathetic society" russian' anarchist movement dilemmas towards war in Chechnya

by Veronica S. (AbolishingBB)

Since long time russian anarchists are expressing their hopelessness concerning tragedy in Chechnya. Anyway, in our times this kind of hopelessness characterizes all anti-war movements all over the world. Everywhere, so also in ex-Soviet Union countries it is mainly caused by social apathy, but especially here it takes form almost of "silent agreement". Dilemmas of anarchist scene concerning defining clear position on "Chechnya" certainly are not helping to solve the problem. Lack of such a position causes lack of common strategy. In this situation if any voice of anti-war critic is heard on the streets of Moscow or Sankt Petersburg, it isn't surely anarchist one.

To certain extent anarchist critic on chechen conflict seem to be coherent and clarified. It is necessary to condemn initiators, because they caused this war. Added to mayhem, which this war brings, it leads also to systematical boiling of nationalistic climate and all other local chauvinisms (not only among Russians and Chechens). It is considered, that one of integral elements of Yeltzin and as well Putins policy is caucasophobia. Such a policy forms xenophobic bases, on which in future it may be possible to build and aggravate conflicts and wars on scale like we saw in recent years in Balkans. Critic on war policy of Russian Federation government by anarchists is determined and straightforward, even if rather differentiated. They're arguments on, for example, its economical character. Meant is war-making profits from rulers point of view (especially when it is possible to keep these fights far from own palaces) and as well interests directly evolving from control over Caucasian republics (oil, gas, transit...). It is considered, that Second War in Chechnya served elites connected with Putin to bring him to power.

Even if most of russian anarchists have similar opinion concerning imperialistic efforts of rus-

sian government, their position towards other side of conflict varies a lot. When part of anarchist solidaries with Chechen rebellion considering it as national liberation struggle and criticising mainly only methods of fighting, others are strongly opposing that rebellion seeing its main goal in creating capitalistic mini-empire. Chechen state institution not only contradictory to anarchist ideals, but also far from any political neutrality and filled with radical islamistic tendencies. For this reasons they cannot see removal of Russian army from Chechnya as a solution, as it means that Chechen populations would then still stay in hands of oppressors - now nationalist and Islamic extremists.

This differences in interpretation of conflict are causing diversity in taking up decisions on strategy of anti-war campaign, so decisions with whom and on which principles is to work in such a frame. And concerning the weakness of anarchist movement in Russia it is fundamental question. Actually it is hard to talk about existence of anti-war movement in Russia, as through all these years its biggest action gathered not more than 1000 people... and this in city of 10 millions! Only groups dealing with this issue except of anarchists are charitable organizations or groups from anti-globalist spectre. First ones are often acting in interest of US-capital and they do only immediate help, never touching reasons of conflict or attempting to stop it. Second ones are mainly bolshevik groups unconcerned about human rights. In some bigger cities heterogen Anti-War Comitees been created. They're including small political parties, trockists and bolsheviks and participating in this

alliances is for many anarchists an painful compromise. Still, part of them believes in own influence on its activities and sees such a participation as only reasonable solution for now. As a proof for that they see enforcing inside of the Comitees campaign "without politicians", which promotes social, grass-roots rejection of war and solving the conflict itself..

Other ones for more effective are considering cooperation with carefully chosen charitable groups, seeing in that double "profit". Firstly, it helps to support more effectively local population in



worst periods, secondly it helps to check out better situation right there. They consider activities of Anti-War Comitees as purely symbolic. According to that for example anarcho-sindicalists are participating only in some of Comitees actions, focussing on social aspects of conflict. They say, that only side to be taken by anarchists is society: Russians as well as Chechens - inhabitants of Russian cities threatened by bombings, as well as Chechen refugees, both victims of nationalists.

There are also others, for which biggest sense make to organize help for Chechen refugees or to support organizations such like for example Association Of Russian-Chechen Friendship, which deals among other tasks with integration of children.

Obviously only common in all these activities is vision of grass-root solution of conflict and this is probably also most important agreement point in "chechenskiy diskusiyi" among Russian anarchists. Removing horrors of war through social revolt would be an perfect solution. Unfortunately, contemporary Russian society shows exactly minimum will for

self-organizing. Also facing Chechen tragedy. Internal and external censorship in medias can play here some role, but it seems that Russian themselves know truth about the war, but since very long nobody believes, that is possible to have an influence on anything. Definitely it has to do with social apathy rooted through years of bolshevik indoctrination. Also nationalism spread by them and successively heated up by Yeltzins and then Putins apparatus stupefies the society and causes blatant caucasophobia. Chechen actions in Russian cities are putting oil into fire also. Each of these actions thousand times overshadows any anti-war demonstration.

Analyzing whole this situation it seems that our Russian comrades should once again focus on combining and giving priority in their actions to 3 important aspects of anarchist thought, which are anyway visible in positions and activities of particular groups:

- humanitarianism, so immediate support to victims of conflict (on both sides), which connected is with anarchist idea of solidarity with oppressed ones;

- antiracism, so fighting racism and spreading tolerance in Russian society, which is only guarantee for changes in perception of such a problems by society in near and distant future;

- self-organization of society, so persistent initiating, promoting and supporting all expressions of grass-root organizing, which is the way to bring people out from apathy;

Hopelessness of russian anarchists in front of surrounding them(us!) tragedy is understandable. Yet, in this archaic times it is necessary to take up at least part of these tasks - immediate help for victims (by parallel rejection of wars and system which breeds them) and transformation of society in such a which could in future generally prevent such a conflicts. This challenge is hard, distant... realizable?

## REASONS OF WAR IN CHECHNYA

by Vadim D. (KRAS-IAA)

We assume, that in the modern age there is no justified wars-of course, except of class war. In our opinion guilty ones are on the both sides-the rulers, and the victims-regular people. At the beginning of 2nd Chechnya War our group stated in flyers,

which we pasted over the walls in Moscow as follows: «Down with the war! You cannot fool us! Yeltzins, Mashadovs (i.e. Chechen president), Putins, Bashayevs (leading commander of Chechens) - they're all from that same gang. They organized terror in Moscow, Volgogradsk, Dagestan and in Chechnya. This is their game, this is

their war. They need it for their powergames! They need it in fight for oil. Why our children should die for their interests?! Oligarchs should better simply kill each other! Don't believe in nationalistic madness: you cannot blame whole "nation" for crimes committed by few, especially for crimes which are in favour only of the rulers of all



"nations". Don't join this war and don't let your children to go there! Don't support the war! Resist by all means necessary! Strike against the war and the warmongers!" So, our understanding of the reasons of war is clear. Still, we want to clarify some details. Concerning the Russian rulers, this new war is firstly mean for nationalistic legitimization of power, so also exercise for Putin's new election technologies and the oligarchic cliques supporting him. But there are of course also other reasons for Russia rulers to keep streams of blood in Caucasus going. Some are simply of an economic nature. Oil and its transport are for capitalistic Russian economy very important. Actually oil resources in Chechnya are not so rich and of rather poor quality, but still they're cheap oil supply for whole region. Also 2 important pipelines from Caspian Sea are going through Chechnya. Russia don't want to loose it and anyway Russian oil-multis are fighting with US-multis for control over Azerbaijan's resources. They prefer this oil to be transported to Europe through Russian territory and not southly through Turkey. Also there is another, rather political reason - senile Russian Empire don't want to accept separation of Chechnya, for they're scared it could be an example for other regions; especially now, when local gouvernors and rulers are getting stronger and more independent in many places. So, Chechnya must be beaten up to state an example and scare others out. Concerning Chechen rulers

, through separating pieces of land from old Empire they want to win hegemony in region. This is imperialistic principle - stronger rules. Chechen army plays already very important role, for example in fights against Georgian troops in Abchasia and the Chechen politicians dream of Federation of Caucasian Nations. The reasons of Chechen elites to have interest in war in Northcaucasus are laying also in inner situation in their country. After 1st War this small country was actually divided between different warlords, which been behaving like independent feudal rulers - they've got their own armies, they've been kidnapping people, etc. Central power of president Mashadov had control only over small part of the land. Warlords, that opposed to him like e.g. Bassayev choosed wahhabitism as a mean for national consolidation and for control over the region. In this they've been supported by Saudi Arabia, Taliban and other Islamic fundamentalists. Then, fundamentalistic versions of islam became also popular among



elites of ethnic groups in neighbouring Dagestan, which rebelled against ruling there clans (which are supported by Moscow). Recent aggravation of crisis in North Caucasus started actually from rebellion of this opposition forces in Dagestan joined by some Chechen warlords. Expansion and war lays in interest of Chechen warlords because it strengthens their position against central power in Grozny. After 1st Chechnya War (1994-'96), which took over 100.000 lives, it was clear that problem isn't regulated at all and that rulers on the both sides saw "peace" only as a short break. Already in 1999 inevitability of escalation became obvious. Worsening inner political and economical situation, both in Russia and Chechnya forced rulers to some new "victorious war", which could be an nationalistic diversion maneuver. As an excuse to start new conflict Russian elite chosen kidnappings done by Chechen warlords and the Chechen warlords-activities of Islamic opposition in neighbouring regions. In autumn Russian army started so-called "antiterrorist operation", which immediately revealed itself as total intervention. Since then war rules again.

When we're speaking already about interests, we should also consider position of western rulers. It is, logically enough, double-sided as double-sided interests of western powers in this region are. On one hand they're scared of consequences of eventual uncontrollable decomposition of Russian Empire, scared of chaos in that part of Eastern Europe and North Asia, scared of uncontrollable spreading of nuclear weapons, which could lead to loosing atomic monopoly by them. More yet - western states need strong Russia, but it shouldn't be ... too strong. So, Russia suppose to play a role of regional superpower, which could serve as a barrier against Islamism and fundamentalism and in this way protect interests of western imperialism. Still, meanwhile Russia should stay satisfied with this role and never more try to play an world-superpower. Such interrelations are characterizing policy of western states concerning Russia in general and in particular concerning question of present war. They watch with an envy eyes activitization and new arrogance of Russian army, but proforma they're condemning Russian military terror and genocide in Chechnya. In that same time yet, they're satisfied with official childish sanctions and reminding over and over, that anyway "Chechnya belongs to Russia".

Vadim D.  
KRAS-IAA  
Moscow

## NO WAR BETWEEN THE PEOPLE - NO PEACE BETWEEN THE CLASSES !

BY MOSCOW ANARCHO-SYNDICALISTS

The nightmare in Moscow as a continuation of the tragedy in North Caucasus is decply symbolical. Almost 200 completely uninvolved ones and exactly "civilians" been calmly put to death by both sides which wage war between themselves - by the Russian imperialism and the Chechen nationalism. It is obvious again and again: there are no just sides in the struggle between the States or wanna-be States (such as all the «National liberation movements»); there are only victims and butchers. And the butchers are the rulers and the commanders from both sides! The human life is nothing - only the power and the profit are interesting for them. Putin (1) needs

«rating of popularity», Russian politicians need «united and undividable» Empire, the generals need polygon, the oil kings need North Caucasian oil-pipelines, Maskhadov (2) needs a republic submissive to him (little but own), Basayev (3) needs Islamic Imamate, the Muslim fundamentalists need the «holy war»... But why these things must be in yours interests - in the interests of habitants of asphalt jungles of Moscow, slums of Grozny or camps for the refugees in Ingushetia; in the interests of the victims of barbaric bombings and military «cleanings» in Chechnya and of fascist act in the «house of culture» in Moscow?

The workers in Russia

and Chechnya have nothing to divide themselves, they have no reasons to fight each other. You have a common enemy: the rulers of Russia and Chechnya, the politicians and the bosses, the generals and the bankers. There are they which organized this war. They must pay for it. And there are us, common people, which must intervene. In the name of the Perished Ones and those still Living Ones.

We refuse the demand for negotiations between the Russian and Chechen «legal» authorities. (4) These authorities are criminal. Not only because every authority is criminal basing on commands, fear and shit obedience, ignoring the human life.

But also because there are they which blew this fire. They are guilty! They don't must negotiate - they must go away!

We say unconditional and categorical NO to the Russian Empire, to all rumours about the «united and undividable Russia». But we consider in same time every talk about the «rights of nations» and about the national (and all the others) States for harmful delirium. (5) This delirium is only in advantage for the rich elites of «oppressed nations», which want to liberate their "own" people from the dictate of another bosses in order to be the single and inseparable rulers over their «own» population. And these potential rulers utilize for



## No war between people, no peace between classes !

*continuation*

this goal their future «subjects» as a cannonfodder calling it the «national interests» or the «national liberation movement». The «upper» classes of different «nations» keep the wars killing the slaves of each other. It remain for the exploited people of all the countries and ethnic groups to throw away every demagogy about the «national liberation», to realize that the enemy is not an neighbour but the one above and to turn on the struggle for an authentic liberation, i.e. social one.

It is the time for cease to seek the solutions in the sense of habitual logic of «Nations» and «States». It is the time to remember the reality: **TO ABOLISH THE WARS, IT IS NECESSARY TO ABOLISH THE DOMINATION OF SOME HUMAN BEINGS OVER ANOTHER, TO ABOLISH THE AUTHORITY!** You must not make a choice between the pest and the cholera, between the insolent imperialism of «great power» and the rapacious authoritarianism of a aborigine little king, between the multinational corporation and the grasp «national» bourgeois. It is only one way to stop the wars: to subvert its organizers, its leaders and its users from both sides.

It is amoral nonsense to beseech the ruling criminals for peace. It can be a step forward to obtain the simple evacuation of Russian military troupes from Chechnya, although it can't eliminate the grounds of conflicts and the inevitability of a new war. But the authorities shall not «grant» even this without pressure and the opponents of the war don't have enough power to force them to act in contradiction to their interests. So, we must keep quiet and bear it further?

Of course not! Our slogan is the direct resistance of the worker classes against the economical and political system of the State and Capital! And everybody of us can make many things in this sense: don't go to the Army and to exhort the others to don't do it; to hinder with all the forces and possibilities the normal work of the military machine, of the industry and of the institutions working for war; to agitate against militarism, nationalism and authority; to unite with other people which think and act in same way. It is necessarily to seek such people on the «chechen» side too, to organize the cooperation with them. It is necessarily to call the Russian soldiers, the Chechen fighters and habitants for make fraternization and to disobey the commands of own crazy superiors. And when a movement from below develop from these «little acts» - so the time can come for think about the further step -- a general strike against the war up to fall of the system which breed the wars!

### RESISTANCE SELF-ORGANIZATION AUTO-ADMINISTRATION

Moscow anarcho-syndicalists

#### NOTES

- (1) V. Putin is Russian president which won the elections on the wave of Chechen war.
- (2) President of Chechen Republic which led the movement for independence from Russia.
- (3) Chechen warlord and leader of «Islamist» fraction of Chechen independency movement.
- (4) The negotiations between Putin and Mashadov are the principal slogan of Russian movement against the Chechen war. The coalition-style organization of this movement is «Committee of anti-war actions» (CAWA), which is dominated by bourgeois liberal groups and parties. The leftist «Campaign against Chechen war» collaborate also with the CAWA and support the demand of negotiations. This «Campaign» coincides more or less with the «Praxis» group around the «Victor Serge Library» in Moscow which edits the newspaper «Chelovechnost» («Humanity») and consists from former or actual Leninists and also some Libertarians.
- (5) The «self-determination» of Chechnya through a referendum under a «international control» is an another demand of «Praxis» / «Humanity».

## “NAVINKI”

### HALF INTERVIEW HALF MASQUERADE

In the last issue of *AbolishingBB* you could read an article about the Belarusian government campaign to close the only independent youth Belarusian newspaper *Navinki*. This repressive campaigning was followed through by the courts against Pauluk Kanavalchyk, the editor-in-chief of the newspaper. This changed the situation of *Navinki* a lot. At the moment they try to find new channels for continuation. We decided to get some information from editors of *Navinki*. We even met with them in Belarus but they decided to make an interview by mail. When we received the answers we realized that the interview as a whole, though interesting, could include some more information. It was too late for mail exchange with Belarus. What to do? And then an idea came ... why not ask some of those questions to one of us who just came back from Belarus - in order to bring you a more exact picture of the situation. At the end you will find below an interview made by *AbolishingBB* with *Navinki* and with ourselves! This whole masquerade just for you! And how do you like it?! Nevermind. In the first part we try to give you an updated version with more background about the whole situation around *Navinki*. In the second part of this interview we tried to help you to learn more about Belarusian reality nowadays and about the situation in which local anarchists find themselves. This situation is very specific even in comparison with other east european anarchist movements. Such a characteristic for EE anarchist communities is problems like dealing with general political apathy among society, lack or disappearance of anarchist traditions, lack of resources and experiences, and quite strong social isolation, all of it is enlarged in Belarus with very specific, refined and effective state control. This one obviously draws from the disreputable soviet methods of controlling society. The last part of the interview is an attempt to find out what possibilities for anarchist activities still exist in contemporary Belarus. Interviewed have been: *Pauluk (Navinki)* and *Veronica (AbolishingBB)*. We hope this material will help you to understand more about belarusian reality. For more information please contact directly anarchists from Minsk or Grodno as many of them can very well communicate in the english language and wish to establish more effective contacts with anarchist structures from abroad. Necessary contacts you will find in the chapter: *Communities in Struggle* at the end of this issue. *AbolishingBB*.

**AbolishingBB:** I guess we need to start with an introduction of your publication. When *Navinki* started, what kind of people begun this project and with what kind of motivation?

**Pauluk:** The newspaper "Navinki" was founded in 1998 by a group of young people as an attempt to reflect political and social processes in Belarus.

**Veronica:** So far more than 80 issues came out, the last ones in edition of 3000.

**AbolishingBB:** What character have the materials which

are appearing in *Navinki* ? Why did you decide on this form of publication ?

**Veronica:** Just to give you an image, *Navinki* Newspaper consists of texts, collages, comics, quizzes ... all in strong political meaning. You will find in *Navinki* even a TV-program.



It does not remind one of any other anarchist publication which we know. You will hardly find

a word "anarchism" in it, even if editors agree that *Navinki* are anarchist paper.



# НАВІНКИ ВЯЛІКІ БОКС



Антарэя

**Pauluk:** All materials in the newspaper have a satirical character and criticizes both the government and opposition. It should be mentioned that Navinki is the only newspaper of political satire in Belarus, that distinguishes it from other editions. As for the form, such a form of publication attracts more readers, especially among young people. And this makes exchange of views of the newspaper and readers easier.

**AbolishingBB:** What kind of status does *Navinki* have?

**Pauluk:** *Navinki* was started as a sam-izdat (self-publishing) newspaper. In the current moment it is officially registered.

**Veronica:** This registration was a result of a longer campaign - "*Register Navinki*", conducted by editors, and it was recognized by them as a big success. It helped during the next few years to use much wider official ways of distribution.

At very beginning it was printed underground and distributed among students and others during oppositional manifestations. Very quickly, already after half a year, it became very popular.

**AbolishingBB:** What channels of distribution are you using and what kind of people read it?

**Pauluk:** We distribute through state and private networks of distribution. And recently we have begun to work for creating our own network of distribution. The main readers of ours are students, young specialists and intellectuals.

**AbolishingBB:** Five years is a pretty long time for an anarchist project (publication). How are you overcoming such problems like feelings of resignation and boredom with your own project. Also are there personal conflicts based on wor-

king daily for such a long time, etc?

**Pauluk:** As for the project itself, the newspaper *Navinki* is developing all the time. For instance there is a great difference between *Navinki* of 1998 and 2003. As for work relations, it's natural that there are disagreements and conflicts, but they are always solved, as everyone understands why we're doing all of this.

**Veronica:** The editorial collective is quite big which is what for sure helps to overcome moments of resignation by some members. Big popularity,

... All the events going on in Belarus, including problems with our newspaper, are a general strategy of the government to extend the influence on Mass Media and society as a whole ...

of *Navinki* and hard reality are for sure two great sources of motivation for continuation.

**AbolishingBB:** Were you confronted with state repression since beginning your work, or has it affected you particularly in the last period? What was exactly a reason of recent repression?

**Pauluk:** There were always problems, especially they touched upon our locality - for the time of the newspaper's existence we have changed about 10 offices. During the two last years we got additional problems with printing and distribution of the newspaper.

**Veronica:** I would risk an opinion that due to there being less opposition towards Lukashenko, the role and influence of *Navinki* increased a lot ... as well in Lukashenko's eyes. And what we observed over the last months is his reaction on it. But I may be wrong ...

**Pauluk:** The thing is that the ministry of information

"paid attention" to us due to the direct order of the office of the General Public Prosecutor, that by the order of authorities decided "to introduce order" in the Mass Media. And this situation touched on not only our edition.

**Veronica:** More exactly the reason was "distribution of information known to be unfounded that discredits honour and dignity of the president". It was about a semiotic article - a satirical research on the attitude of OSCE to Lukashenko before and after taking up the belarusian parliament to PACE. One day later came additional "publication of two photographs of the president of the Republic of Belarus with the comments of insulting type".

**AbolishingBB:** How is the situation with printing your magazine? How does it look in the case of other anti-Lukashenko

censorship attempts from the side of topographic directors. There is not enough space in here to tell them now. Anyway they do it in a pretty effective and, of course, funny way.

**AbolishingBB:** Do you believe this recent repression to be a part of growing state campaign to generally limit freedom in Belarus or do you see it rather as a directly aimed attack on anarchist structures in your country?

**Pauluk:** All the events going on in Belarus, including problems with our newspaper, are a general strategy of the government to extend the influence on Mass Media and society as a whole. This is first connected to the new course of the government toward formation of state ideology in the Republic of Belarus.

**AbolishingBB:** So how could you describe Lukashenko politics? How far today could political situation in Belarus for example, be called as dictator, regime, fascist-like state

newspapers?

**Pauluk:** Our situation looks like other newspaper's one. That is, in the country there are many typographies, but only some of them have a licence to work with the Press. That is why there is a topical problem for many editions being impossible to be printed in Belarus, as those typographies that have licences are afraid of losing them, and don't want to cooperate with independent political editions.

**Veronica:** And if they decide to do it they try to make self-censorship to not get too much troubles from authorities, so sometimes there must be some compromises between editors and topographies that both can survive in that system. There are some interesting stories how *Navinki* deals with these

**Veronica:** It needs to be added that this is very "elegant" style of dictatorship. As a tourist or traveler you need quite a long time to realize rules which dictate life in this country. Lukashenko created a new model of very modern and smart dictatorship, a model for the XXI century. It needs to be abolished before more clones appear around the world.





**AbolishingBB:** Could you describe a Belarus opposition and tell on what levels you are working with this movement (or its groups)?

**Pauluk:** In the current moment Belarusian opposition is on a marginal level. The cause of it is an aimed policy of the government directed to discrediting any forces in disagreement with the situation in the country. We criticise the opposition for pro-Western policy and cooperate only in particular activities.

**Veronica:** It seems like some part of the so called opposition feels very comfortable to be supported by western money and propaganda and prefers to remain as a "professional opposition" instead of trying to change anything. Modern dictatorship has created modern professional "oppositionists".

**AbolishingBB:** On what kind of projects/campaigns are anarchists groups in Belarus focusing on at the moment?

**Pauluk:** We conduct different activities, such as ecological, social, anti-military, anti-war, cultural, etc. But the problem is that a possibility of a local action in

our country is limited. There is a discussion in anarchist movement about the ways of solution of this problem to find a possibility to conduct any actions.

**AbolishingBB:** How would you react if someone of your comrades would propose to organize, let's say ... an antiborder camp in Belarus in the next future?

**Pauluk:** We don't think there is any sense in conducting an anti-border camp in Belarus, as it is not Belarus that closes borders, but Europe.

**Veronica:** Well, the anti-border camp could be seen in a much wider context. What about criticising both, EU and national Lukashenko politics, from anarchist position? What about criticising the borders in general? What about the refugee problem? Of course for Belarusian society these kind of politics would be probably very abstract, but is it different in western countries?

**AbolishingBB:** So, what kind of real topics, around such a no-border issue, could attract at least some part of Belarusian society?

**Pauluk:** Cancellation of all visas for Belarusian citizens.

**AbolishingBB:** Could you explain what actually means organization of bigger political actions in your country? What are the most crucial problems and dangerous?

**Pauluk:** As experience of oppositional protests shows any mass political actions are stopped by authorities immediately. The situation becomes more difficult as in conditions of repressions against freedom of speech. The majority of people don't know that anything has happened or that someone organized something.

**Veronica:** Lack of experiences in this field seems to paralyse some anarchist initiatives too. There are some people which are saying: *At the end we don't*

*know what to accept as we have never try anything like that.* On the other side a price can be as well very high - longer imprisonment, lost jobs or being banned from the university, are just some examples.

**AbolishingBB:** Well, what other news is there about *Navinki*, when is the next issue coming out and what message would you like pass to the international anarchist movement right now?

**Pauluk:** Right now *Navinki* has many problems especially with printing and distribution as in Belarus we have a paradoxical situation: it's easier to be underground than to work officially. Now we have finished work on the first issue after prohibition, and now we're solving the problem of how to print this issue and how to sell it legally in the streets.

And I would like to wish to the anarchist movement that people will pay more attention to our country as the last dictatorship in Europe. And of

course we hope for solidarity in our resistance to the regime.

Contact to *Navinki* as well as to other groups in Belarus on page 26.



Volja (Russian word meaning "freedom" and "will") is an international anarchist paper that was founded by several anarchists in Moscow in 1989. From the very beginning and throughout its history Volja was a sort of "additional" publication for Moscow-based anarchists, or a "replacement" paper that was issued during the times of the main publication's crisis. This can partly explain the long periods of silence between issues.

The "international" character of the paper, manifested in its subtitle, has a complicated set of reasons, including the fact that editorial collective consisted and still consists of people from various nations, the desire to cover political and cultural events as well as development of anarchist and liberation ideas internationally, and not recognizing state borders legitimate, as they are becoming more and more transparent for goods while the people have a hard time getting through. Volja tried to cover and intends to keep covering the protest and liberating movements in political, social, gender, environmental, cultural and

## "VOLJA" PRESENTATION OF HISTORICAL MAGAZINE MOSCOW' ANARCHISTS

other spheres of life, the most interesting events and phenomena that are relevant for the former USSR territory at each particular issue's publishing date.

Volja does not follow any organization's "party line" but it keeps an eye or two open for various individuals, groups and movements of anarchist, libertarian and antiauthoritarian left orientation, including antiwar movement and movement against the capitalist globalisation. It is worth noting that in 1989-1990 Volja has been a companion paper for anarchist magazine *Obschina* ("Community"). There were 49 issues and 3 unnumbered special editions of *Obschina* published between 1987 and 1993. In 1994 and 1995 Volja was being published to at least partially cover the hollow space that existed after *Obschina* stopped publishing and before another

new big publication took off. Volja was temporarily halted as some of the collective's members took part in publishing anarcho-environmental paper *Hraniteli Radugi* ("Rainbow Keepers") - issues 6 through 10 in 1996 and 1997. Then the attention was turned to *Utopija* ("Utopia") magazine: issues 1 and 2 in 1998 and 2.5 as a part of compilation zine *Evrobulyka* ("Eurobottle") in 2000. When *Utopija* temporarily ceased to be published, Volja has been revived in 2000, the year that the Moscow anarchist movement has been relatively active. In autumn 2000, at the suggestion of the editor of Moscow's anarchist paper *Anarchicheskij Vestnik* ("Anarchist Courier"), the failed experiment of merging Volja with *Anarchicheskij Vestnik* started - it did produce one issue of "urban counterculture and antipolitics

magazine" *Asfal't* ("Asphalt") in March 2001. Volja's 15th issue has been provoked by the hostage crisis in Moscow; the simultaneous analysis of the events (the issue was published on October 24, 2002) was combined with materials that were chosen for another publication due to be released in September 2002 that failed to materialize. So far 15 issues were done, all in Russian language. "Volja" #15 (October 24, 2002): hostage crisis in Moscow, S28 protests in Washington DC, anarchism and other obstacles on the way to anarchy (by Bob Black), historical materialism and modern culture (by Alexander Brenner and Barbara Schurz), feature on Russia's political punk band PTVP (by Vlad Tupikin), Stewart Home's "Blow Job" (by Vlad Tupikin), postmodernism as globalisation of art (by Ljoha Nikonov), social forums and antiglobalisation movements.

If you want to contribute articles, comments, pictures, or anything else you feel is relevant, you can contact the editorial collective at: [volja@nn.ru](mailto:volja@nn.ru) or [obschchina@pisem.net](mailto:obschchina@pisem.net)



## THE BEST OF KOLOKOL NEWSLETTER AUGUST 2003

In June-July I was able to go to Siberia again after two years. In Barnaul I attended the first Siberian Social Forum and saw there friends of the Sibirskaya Konfederatsia Truda (SKT) from Tomsk and Omsk. The Forum was hosted by a local organisation with the participation of organisations of several tendencies. The most interesting workshop was about a question submitted by the secretary of the SKT: *What do you think you should be able to achieve over the next ten years?* The SKT is a (syndicalist) trade-union and, perhaps naively, I had never imagined that trade-unions could have such planning. I saw them only as fighting organisations trying to protect and to promote the interests of workers on a day to day basis with daily opportunities and bad surprises to cope with. One of the answers given during the workshop was to try and get the authorities and employers respect the laws protecting the workers. In a country like Russia, where arbitrariness is the order of the day, such a target is sensible indeed. In Tomsk teacher-members of the local syndicalist trade-union have developed a practice and model of taking authorities to court for non- or late payment of teaching aids. There was also a workshop on the role religious organisations can play in society. Unfortunately, the workshop degenerated into a propaganda competition between representatives of religious organisations.

### SYNDICALIST SEMINARS

In July the local syndicalist trade-unions both of Tomsk and Omsk held seminars for their members. Unfortunately, I was only able to attend part of the seminar in Tomsk but that part left a deep impression on me. It started on the Friday evening with accordion music, singing, dan-

cing and games. While taking the beautiful singing of the women so to say for granted

I was elated hearing Boris Bylin, the father of Tomsk anarchism: a heart breaking voice, a voice from the book of Russian folk singers, a must for any anarchist or other event where he has not been invited yet.

The seminar itself started with readings by representatives of the Swedish syndicalist trade-union SAC. The SAC is one of the syndicalist trade unions not welcome in if not kicked out of the international association of anarcho-syndicalist trade-unions AIT/IWA/IAA/MAT for not being in accordance with the letter and the spirit of anarcho-syndicalism as seen by those who consider themselves orthodox and able to judge within developing much trade-union activity. The lecturers told the story of syndicalism and of the SAC as they saw them. Unfortunately, they avoided to mention the historical links of the SAC with anarcho-syndicalism and the AIT: that they were once a section of the AIT but left when they saw that they were going to be kicked out. Of other syndicalist trade-unions to whom they referred (they never told names) they also omitted to mention their former links with the AIT. Of the unnamed German FAU they even left unmentioned that it has, so far, stayed in the AIT. I have difficulty to understand such an attitude. There is no reason for the SAC to be ashamed of its separation from the AIT, where practical trade-union work seems to be seen as too dangerous for the purity of the principles of anarcho-syndicalism: as their thinking heads see them. To my

knowledge only the simply syndicalist trade-unions I know of (SAC, CGT in

Spain, CNT-rue-de-Vignoles in France (which still rejects its exclusion at the XX congress in Madrid in 1996 as based on unfounded accusations) and SKT in Siberia) attract workers of a variety of trades and constitute weights with which employers in certain branches count (if I'm not mistaken the SAC has some 20,000 members, the CGT 600,000, the CNT-rue-de-Vignoles between 1500 and 3000 and the SKT over 7,000). Perhaps, the SAC lecturers were afraid to confuse their rank-and-file audience with names and details from worlds very different from theirs that might be meaningless for them but if I had been able to stay till the end of their lectures I would have liked to make some observations.

### END OF AN OWNERSHIP DREAM

Three four years ago four anarchists in the Tomsk area had the idea to build a common house for their families, or, rather, to convert a former public bath into such a house and I was asked whether I would not like to have a room there too, to which I agreed. However, when the money and work contributions had to start all except for the initiator withdrew for various reasons. Perhaps the basic reason was that not all the women (whom I had never heard about the idea) liked the idea. Then the initiator started to build a one-family house for a different friend and I was to have my room there. The last time the foundations

were laid and during the winter (those Siberians!) they would start the building itself. I could see the foundations from the house of the initiator, who, with his partner, has several times been a generous host and helped me to choose proper clothing etc. when I was to come to Siberia in winter for the first time. When I came to Tomsk this time I saw from the window not the simple wooden house I had expected but a small palace made of concrete bricks. The owner: a man mightier than my friend who had claimed the plot of land where our house had started to become reality as he needed it to give his palace its due size. Contrary to usual anarchist theory, the father of Tomsk anarchism, the initiator of the plan, considered, at least in this case, his co-citizen more dangerous than the State and decided not even to sue the man in court. With unco-operative people still disappearing without a trace or found dead at the entrances of their houses or in their cars in Russia this attitude shows that anarchists can have a very practical mind and leave principles such as "Resist at any price" for what they are. With the new visa rules introduced over the last few years, longer stays in Russia have become difficult for me, so, I would have made hardly any use of my room anyway. The thing is worse for the friend for whose family the house was meant.

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Falkor I.C.Y. - International Co-operation Youth - is an international network of (young) people working on environment, independent media and human rights. We coordinate group exchange projects, international volunteer work and information exchange between different countries in Europe/Caucasus. More info on [www.falkor.org](http://www.falkor.org) (...)

### Video documentary 'Orphaned Sources'

now available

The video documentary 'Orphaned Sources' about radioactive sources in Georgia has been released in August 2003. It has been shown to the public for the first time at "Ecotopia" conference in Ukraine. Tapes (VHS) or CD's can be ordered at [info@falkor.org](mailto:info@falkor.org). There is an English and a Russian subtitles version. Price: 5 Euro. You can also watch the video online (or download) from the Next 5 Minutes website: <http://www.n5m.org/n5m4/inedialibrary/section.php?sec=documentary>

The story: Last June police in Tbilisi, Georgia (South Caucasus)

seized a taxi which was transporting radioactive sources Cesium and Strontium. The owner of the vehicle said, he knew nothing about the contents of the freight. Even a tiny fraction of a curie of strontium, if inhaled or ingested, can cause cancer. This is an example of the so-called orphaned sources: radioactive materials that are lying around in Georgia, a former Soviet republic. They have been found in forests and rivers, and in the city. Some of these materials were left behind by the Soviet army after the collapse of the Soviet Union, some found their way to Georgia via illegal trading. In Caucasus places where nuclear waste is stored have not always been well regulated. Large amounts of waste have been stolen by soldiers and citizens, hoping to make money out of it. In 1997 eleven Georgian soldiers were exposed to radiation and made seriously ill. In winter 2002, three residents of

Tsalenjikha, western Georgia, suffered severe injuries due to exposure to a strontium source. The issue radioactive pollution is politically sensitive in Caucasus countries. Governments seem to be closing up about the subject and information is difficult to obtain. Moreover, since 11th of September the subject radioactive materials is also being connected to 'the war on terrorism' (Georgia is neighboring Chechnya) and illegal trading of sources. But main reason for Falkor I.C.Y. to produce a video documentary on the subject is the effect radioactive substances have on citizens and environment. Bad accidents did happen last years and still sources are missing. What is being done to improve the safety of Georgian people?

The project is partly funded by Stichting Overal from Nijmegen (<http://www.xs4all.nl/~overal/>), Netherlands. Also we got some financi-

al support from Salmonella, Groningen. The editing is done voluntarily by KeyOne, Groningen ([www.keyone.nl](http://www.keyone.nl)).

### Video documentary Armenia

In April-June and in September 2003 Falkor has been filming in Armenia to produce a documentary about the situation of electricity in Armenia. Topics: the state of the nuclear power plant 'Medzamor', gas and hydro-power, renewable energy sources (like solar and wind energy projects), political obstacles for change of energy policy, international attention (pressure of EU), covering of the subject in Armenian media. We interviewed Armenian journalists, (environmental) activists, officials from the Armenian government, scientists, energy company representatives and EU-officials.

In March 2003 a new video camera has been presented to Falkor by Stichting Argus (Open Channel TV), Groningen. Thank you very much!

LokaalMondiaal Television Productions in Arnhem (<http://www.lokaalmondiaal.net/>) trained us in filming.



"In our anti-EU campaign, we presented new viewpoints ...

## "THE EU, ANTI-EU MOVEMENTS AND FEMINIST PERSPECTIVES" PRASKA ANARCHIST GROUP / WARSAW - POLAND

We began anti-EU campaigns several years ago. It became clear right away that we would both find it impossible to integrate into the other anti-EU movements and that we would have trouble finding a base with many that we would normally like to network with politically, in particular feminist. In this article we will give you only a few of our arguments against the EU as we would like to focus on the feminist perspectives, why we feel feminists did not engage in the anti-EU movements and how we feel that the powers that be knowingly co-opt feminist movements for their own purposes.

We feel it is important to clarify what we mean by feminists as clearly feminists range from liberal feminists to anarcho-feminists. Here we use the blanket term because in relation to the EU, it seemed most feminists used similar argumentation. Among more radical or social feminists, we did not find vocal criticism and sometimes found open support for the EU from a reformist position. Although we suppose that some people will postfactum turn out not to be so supportive, any feminist opposition was essentially silent during the pre-referendum period.

### Critique of the EU

We feel that any truly brief critique of the EU may not be entirely convincing hence we encourage people to look for more documents on our web site to get a more in-depth look at some of the arguments. Some of the reasons we are against the EU are as follows:

- \* The EU, like all superstatist institutions, exists to consolidate the power of capital. We are against all national and international efforts to control the production and distribution of wealth, goods and services. We do not believe the role of the state or superstate can ever be to check capital even when it claims to be working in the interests of the national good, not capital. We believe that superstates serve to consolidate power which ultimately leads to higher stages of imperialism and more free reign for capital.

- \* We are against the EU Employment Strategy, in particular the Third Pillar which calls for the increased casualization of labour. We have concerns about Polish workers' role in Europe as a force of potential strikebreakers and see expansion as an element which helps the bosses implement anti-worker policy. This in no way means that we support calls to keep people off the labour market but we are concerned about the social and eco-

The Praska Anarchist Group is a small collective from Warsaw. It is a member of the Anarchist Federation. Its members are active in a number of movements and have been organizing No Border activities plus are active in feminism and criticism against gender and sexual stereotypes. The group were among the founders of the anarcho-feminist group KURWA (now defunct); although it is not a specifically feminist group, anarcho-feminist and gender issues are essential to its politics. Members of the group also edit a zine for women workers called "Women to the Streets". [www.alter.most.org.pl/pga](http://www.alter.most.org.pl/pga)

conomic implications that an expanded European labour market comprised of workers from such greatly varying income groups can bring.

- \* We are against EU border policy, in particular its implementation in Poland.

- \* We do not like the policies of the Common Agricultural Policy and are particularly concerned about the social and economic impact of large-scale corporate agribusiness in Poland.

- \* We are against Eurocracy as we are against all forms of representative government.

- \* We do not like many of the policies of social control, for example implementation of the SIS-II.

- \* In the case of Poland, we feel that many points in the Acquis Communautaire will have extremely negative consequences for working and poor people, in particular as the Acquis was carefully constructed to serve the purposes of European capital.

### The Feminist Perspective(s)

After the referendum, we are beginning to hear a few isolated feminists criticise particular points of the EU yet prior to the referendum, hardly a critical word was to be found. We suppose that certain people quelled their criticisms in fear of negative results at the polls, having convinced themselves that, negative aspects or not, EU membership was bound to bring them more benefit than harm. We must say that, for certain people, there will be certain benefits just as there will be losses. As to whether or not membership brings more benefits than not, we think it depends on how you qualify it. Strategic alliances with wealthier states sometimes do bring benefits if your country manages to exploit global capitalism and imperialism to increase wealth inside its borders. We have already seen clearly enough that Poland would like

to become a political and economic power and is willing to go to war and police Iraq to gain prestige and some post-war rebuilding contracts. The press is quick to call Poland's imperial venture a success but we do not accept the criteria used. EU membership and the development of the Polish economy along Western European standards may eventually produce some outward measures of wealth but we see the other side of the coin: worsening conditions for workers, moving production to countries using sweatshop labour, mass unemployment and underemployment, widening income gaps - to name just a few. Some people will argue that this will go on regardless of whether Poland joins the EU, and we agree only we mention this to question that widespread thought in Poland that EU membership would be a panacea remedy for the Polish economy. When treating feminist's perspectives of the EU and their support, we have to assume that their first and foremost concerns were in sync with the overwhelming social anxiety about material life. Therefore, to momentarily put aside any ideas on the EU which might be particularly feminist, we have to assume that many feminists are plugged into the myths of capitalism about how wealth is created and comparing their own material standard of living with those in the EU, came to the conclusion that joining the EU would bring economic benefits.

Again, judging the state of the economy is usually a matter of which factors and indicators you look at, but we are highly critical of this point of view. As we feel that we probably cannot adequately convince those reader who might not be critical of capitalism, to indicators of wealth used by capital and by world development models, we will move from this point just saying that we are not convinced by this view. (You may consult the web page for more arguments.)

On to arguments which we found particular to the feminists, we can break them into two groups: arguments based wholly or partially on misinformation and arguments based on fact but which often represented, to our minds, wishful thinking. Among the arguments we heard which represented misinformation are the following:

- \* That abortion will become legalised in Poland;
- \* That homosexuals will be allowed to marry;
- \* That constitution forbidding discrimination will end pay differentials;
- \* That there will be quotas guar-

and self-management, on globalization from below, not from above.



## ... ones based on freedom and openness, on self-organization

anteeing equal participation of women in government.

(Other common myths, for example on Schengen's immediate implementation in Poland, we will not comment on here.)

Hopefully we do not have to point out to readers that this is just misinformation. Unfortunately we did not even manage to convince some people locally that homosexuals did not have the right to marry throughout the EU. This aside, the more powerful factors seemed to be other matters of interpretation. In particular, we feel that many Polish feminists look in envy at the situation of their counterparts in other countries. Feminism, although already more mainstream than 10 years ago, is not as widespread as in places like Sweden or England or Germany and thus, consciously or not, many Polish feminists look to other countries as more developed models. Thus, logical, or not, many Polish feminist look at EU countries and see countries where the level of feminist consciousness is higher and where this is even embedded in constitutions, government policies and legal documents. It did not help that so many of the anti-EU camp were arch conservatives who argued that the EU would bring feminism and legalize homosexuality in Poland. Many feminists combined reaction to those conservatives and social change with EU membership.

There are several problems with this however. First, we see a tremendous difference between what is declared on paper and what really happens. Second, have seen time and time again how countries looking in envy at some aspects of social, political or economic life abroad implement their politics, join in supranational alliances with them only to find that the reality of it all is far different than what they expected. We suppose that feminists in the future will be in for a rude awakening (but that doesn't mean we aren't happy to try to wake them up before the fact). For example, they may find that the pay differentials don't disappear. If they did their homework, they might also find that pay differentials are actually higher in some EU countries than in Poland. Contrary to all capitalist logic, if they want more equal salaries to men, they should look to Belarus where the differentials are actually quite low. (Then again, with such crappy salaries, maybe this is easy to accomplish.) It also turns out that the percentage of women in management jobs is higher in Poland than in many EU countries. Not that these are our main priorities, but just to look at a typical liberal feminist perspective.

We don't want to insinuate that things are good enough here in Poland. But we question what women actually feel

is so much better in the EU. Feminists will point out all the discrimination in Poland as an almost unique case and say things like "you'd never see that in X". And, in some cases, they are right. And in some not. Because the fact is that you do not legislate change, you do not impose feminism from above and feminist practice is not created in a vacuum. If some anti-discrimination practices do exist in some other places, it's not because some laws and principles were put into place and forced the bad guys to comply: it's because of years of social struggle, and, unfortunately also because the needs of the economy are in perfect sync with it all and these override social reaction.

So what do these people want? Do they want to be given the right to sue their employers if they are discriminated against? One look at how that works abroad should put that out of their minds. As a matter of fact, the Polish courts have a good record of protecting women workers.\* The EU, with all its declarations on workers' rights, are always encouraging changes to the Labour Code and practice in the Labour Court. (\* It is true though that sexual bias cases rarely ever are brought in Poland.) We wonder how well off women workers will actually be when more reforms encouraging the casualization of labour are complete; won't women be the ones willing most of the crap jobs? The "career breaks" that the European Employment Strategy encourages - won't that often be used for unpaid maternity leave? And the pension and health care reforms; in a country where women live on the average 10 years longer than men, making the overwhelming majority of pensioners women, doesn't this amount to screwing old women? Of course we are also sure that some middle-class and many upper-class women will benefit. We also see one of the problems being that many feminists actually are from an elite sphere of people - if not an economic elite, then a cultural elite. For example, some women argued that it would be much easier for them to study abroad after being EU members. While this may be true, we wonder how many people in a sense can actually take advantage of such benefits. First, education in Poland is a class issue; it is moving towards paid education and what is left of public higher education is dominated by children from wealthier backgrounds who had better school, tutors, etc.. So we wonder if the benefits of 10,000 people studying abroad can counterbalance the negative effects EU policies will directly or indirectly have on the children of the 1 million displaced farmers.

We see a failure amongst the feminists to make a deeper social analysis

due to class and social privilege. While they tend to look at themselves as a "progressive element", they tend to look at rural women as victims of domestic abuse, conservative, religious and backwards - in need of uprooting for their own good. Many feminists also argued that their organizations will be able to get money from the EU. This, to a certain extent, is true - but probably not to the extent they presented before the referendum. Before the referendum you could see lots of information about how feminists will be able to use structural funds; now that the referendum is history, you see disclaimers in places like Oshka bulletin (main feminist calendar / information source) saying that, although there may be some money available, you mustn't forget that most of the money goes to things like infrastructure, building roads, etc.. (Wow, thanks for informing them now; maybe if such info was out a few months ago, we wouldn't have had such arguments with feminists who were prematurely counting on the cash rolling in from the structural funds!). The fact is, regardless of whether women get money or not from the EU to do feminist work, it does not change our opinion. As a matter of fact, we are critical of these funds for various reasons. First, we see that these funds can often make organizations dependent and unwilling to criticize. Government think-tanks clearly write about the role NGOs should have in being a civil partner and channeling dissent. Second, we feel that heavy outside funding for organizations that exist in a social vacuum could have the opposite effect. For example, the nutty claims by the right that homosexuality will be sponsored by the EU may well seem true to people and people who see something as foreign and being imposed on them often connect things like this with cultural imperialism, etc.. We are not saying that we think these sorts of views should be pandered to, it's just perceived differently when a movement grows of it's one accord and has its own social base and when it is imported as a set of cultural values from abroad and ultimately this will have its consequences. Third, we believe that certain segments of NGOs form elites that are eventually bought and are willing to sell out larger social interests for narrower ones. In such a case, the interests of groups like feminists will more and more be contrasted with groups like workers, ecologists, farmers. Feminists are in danger of supporting the system over the larger social base. Thus financial dependency is often a very effective way of splitting the interests of different social groups and making certain connections impossible at the grassroots level. Finally, from our anarchist point of view, we do not agree with

We believe that many parts of the NGO community showed ...



## ... its worse sides during the EU campaign, in particular

paying taxes and having some bureaucrats dole out where money is to be allocated. We have no objection to feminist groups getting money to do their political work, only the money should come from donation and a real support base, not from the state or superstate. Some people might argue that taxes are a fact and they'd prefer feminists to get them rather than the military - and we'd agree but in the situation where many people base their support of a superstate on the fact that they'll get some cash from it, we can't help but point out that it's still money stolen from working people and, although on one hand you may think you're better capable of organizing our own liberation, on the other you're also perpetuating your own exploitation.

Here, in this criticism of the position that feminists played in mustering support of the EU, we do not want to particularly demonize the feminists; like many other people, they were working from a position of incomplete information, wishful thinking and viewing their interests in rather narrow terms. We understand that post-factum, many feminists will begin to vocalize the aspects of EU politics that they do not like or agree with; in fact, many people voted for accession merely because they saw no "pragmatic" alternative to it. It is our hope to add to the feminist perspective in Poland by offering a radical analysis which takes alienation into account and which also will take a deeper look into both the class bases of certain aspects of feminist politics and will be critical of the results which can be expected by engaging in reformist politics.

### Anti-EU Movements, the Conservatives and Us

One factor that no doubt highly influenced some feminist and gay perspectives was the public face of the anti-EU movement. (And here we say the public face because there is reason to people that in fact it was much more diverse than many people thought.) Nationalist, conservatives and Catholics tended to oppose EU accession. For many, pro-EU politics were seen as a rejection of xenophobia, tradition, family values, the church, homophobia and provincialism. There are many problematic issues raised by this, not the least of which is that accession in and of itself will not be able to change these things. As a matter of fact, if the first years in post-accession Poland go badly, it is quite possible that the opposite will happen: it will be exactly the conservatives who will gain political credibility. As we look at current political movements in places like France, Belgium

or Austria, we can see how reactionary politics feeds off of popular discontent and it makes you wonder what the possibilities for a right-wing insurgency are in Poland.

In Poland, there is almost a non-existent left wing and only small grassroots movements. We found however that all the small communist and left groups most of the anarchists and most localists also took anti-EU positions. So the political spectrum on the EU looked as if the small left and anarchist scene was "on the same side" as the conservatives but on the opposite side of feminists and gays. For us, this was a troubling perspective that still has many consequences. Not the least problematic point of the situation are sometimes anti-social and elitist positions amongst feminists like "why should I care about those workers and farmers?". In other words, some sort of imagination that workers and farmers are bound with social reaction. It has to be said that the media portrayal of these groups as singular entities behind some right-wing leaders has perpetuated this concept.

The reality looks a little different. When one of us participated in a large *Solidarity* action a few months before the referendum with anti-EU leaflets, she found a number of interesting things. First, there were many women with anti-EU leaflets but only a small percentage of them represented right-wing or conservative views. The thing she clearly noticed was that most of the people marching were women. This probably represents the reality of who has been hit by unemployment and poverty most in Poland outside the big cities. In this situation, the conservative forces concentrated their anti-EU campaigns not so much on xenophobia or anti-homosexual views (which really they rarely mentioned - only a few extreme people using it - there was no need to focus on that base of voters anyway); they focused on the situation of the average person. And, while we do not espouse populism, one could see that the critical views of the conservatives could strike a chord with the social discontents.

As we mentioned, a wider range of people participated then in anti-EU movements; from libertarian capitalists to some protectionists. In total, we can think that some 33% of the population at least took part in anti-EU activity. (Although we only saw about a quarter of voters vote against - we have to remember that many anti-EU people wavered between boycotting and voting as people were trying to lower the frequency of the vote, thus many boycotted, especially as after the first day it seemed like the frequency would be too low to have a valid referendum.) We were shocked and disappointed however to find

ourselves sometimes lumped into "the opposition" as if we were proposing any conservative politics. We even had a few adventures: on earth day, ecologist friends were violently attacked for having anti-EU posters, at the gay parade organizers prohibited anti-EU propaganda. We do not accept such divisions as some people tried to portray as there being a battle between progressive and conservative forces.

### Conclusion

We believe that statist organizations exploit wedge issues to channel social discontent and exercise more control over NGOs than they would like to admit. Feminism and gay rights are wedge issues in Poland. Populists would definitely seek to abandon them as long as they are unpopular, others might try to play them down or make them more palatable to be tolerable to normal people.

Luckily, as anarchists, we find that our ideas are quite exotic to most people therefore we needn't compromise on such issues; if someone is talking with us, their minds are already open to a certain extent at least. In our anti-EU campaign, we presented new viewpoints, ones based on freedom and openness, on self-organization and self-management, on globalization from below, not from above. We believe that many parts of the NGO community showed its worse sides during the EU campaign, in particular showing how they will support statism, the elites, etc., and we wonder what their further role may be in this country.

As for the fight against the EU, we still continue it. We continue to fight against the border regimes and immigration policies, we criticize and expose the roles of EU-funded databases, we keep track of corruption, embezzling EU funds, we are critical of certain development programs, object to and will campaign against the militarization of the EU. We do not try to focus on the EU to embody all evil in it but we are trying at every point to counter the statist ideas that a state or superstate structure works in anybody's interests. For us, we cannot combine anarchism with support for such structures, nor will we participate in reformist myths about changing the nature of the state to a friendlier one. If anything friendly for us comes out of the EU, we will be pleasantly surprised. If the EU helps some feminist or gay organizations survive, OK. But still we suspect that we'll just find ourselves in some database of undesirables in the end.

Praska Grupa Anarchistyczna

showing how they will support statism, the elites, etc..."



## RADICAL ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT "RAINBOW KEEPERS" CONFERENCE 04.-07. SEPTEMBER 2003, KASIMOV (RUSSIA)

BY TUULI / ST. PETERSBURG

Rainbow Keepers annual conference was organized at "Kasimov alternative" (Kasimov city, Russia) on 4-7. September 2003. The aim of the conference was to discuss the internal structure and strategy of the movement, as well as concrete campaigns and further plans, for example protest camps. We also had a list of technical questions to solve. Rainbow Keepers used to organize common conferences once a year, but for last 4 years there where no conferences organized, so it was really necessary.

On the first day of the conference we noticed that it's not so much use to discuss about concrete campaigns, since the on-going campaigns were (and are) already discussed in the e-mail lists and noone proposed any new campaign to be started. For us it was more important to concentrate on discussions about strategy and internal structure of Rainbow Keepers. Dealing with internal structure of the movement we had discussion about the problems of informal hierarchy, sexism and homophobia inside the movement and the marginality of our movement in society. The discussion about informal hierarchy was surprisingly productive, what you can not say about the discussions about sexism or homophobia. Anyway, for Rainbow Keepers (and all of the anarchist milieu) it seemed like a good step forward that all these problems were at least pointed and discussed as important issues.

In the discussion about marginality of the movement we found 2 sides; on one hand Rainbow Keepers is not only radical environmental, but also social movement and campaigns are usually made in strong cooperation with local people. For example protest camps wouldn't have good success without this cooperation. On the other hand, Rainbow Keepers are still marginal, subcultural movement with lots of punks and subcultural youth participants and that's why Rainbow Keepers often seem to be marginal, "strange" group for the local initiatives and for mainstream auditoria. A few Rainbow Keepers still didn't consider the marginality as a problem at all.

We also discussed about the problems, which anti-authoritarianly organized protest camp faces while cooperating with local initiatives with hierarchical structures and leaders. For example, problems in decision making at protest camp, in a common meetings, participated by both Rainbow Keepers and local initiatives: Local activists have often no experience of anti-authoritarian organizing, moderated meetings and so on, but are instead just trying to find out, who is the leader to speak with. Trying to solve this problem we decided to make an leaflet about our internal structure and principles for local activists and initiatives.

One big discussion was half principal-half technical, about the common projects / resources / campaigns / symbols of Rainbow Keepers. Which projects are common, and which are just local? It was decided that some resources of Rainbow Keepers, such as conference, e-mail list, website, symbols and background are common for the Rainbow Keepers and any participant of the movement may have access to them if he or she needs it.

About 30 people from Kasimov, Nizhny Novgorod, Volzhsky, Moscow and Moscow region, Petersburg, Samara, Ivanovo, Minsk, Grodno and Berlin took part in the conference. We decided that it's very important to organise such conferences regularly (once a year) and proposed the next one to take place in September 2004..

## CITY RISING AGAINST METHANOL TERMINAL

RAINBOW KEEPERS / AUTONOMOUS ACTION CAMPAIGN IN AZOV BY ALEKSEJ

### Background

Azov is a city of 90 000 inhabitants, located 45 kilometer southwards from Rostov-na-Donu, which is the biggest city in South of Russia. Azov is planned site of liquid chemicals terminal project, which dates back to 1996 but was halted until April of this year due to legal obstacles. Terminal, mainly meant for methanol export, is being built by Azovprodukt, joint venture by DECAL (51% of shares, a member of Italian multinational Triboldi) and Roshleoproduct (Russian corporation which has 49% of shares). Triboldi already controls methanol trade in Mediterranean sea, owning 6 other terminals. The terminal would consist of six chemical storage tanks with common capacity of more than 20 000 cubic meters, a railway connection, a jetty for tanker loading and related infrastructure. According to plans methanol tanks are to be located only 400 meters, and high-pressure methanol pipeline less than 90 meters from the municipal dwelling zone. People in Molokanovka, suburb to which terminal is built live in separate houses surrounded by gardens, from which most of them are dependent due to permanent economical crisis. According to Russian regulation safety zone around methanol storage should be at least 1000 meters, in Italy a 7 kilometre safety zone is required. Azov sea, which is connected to larger Black Sea only by a narrow channel has an average depth of 4.2 meters only, and only 280 cube kilometres of water - thus a single accident with a tanker carrying poisonous methanol load would destroy the sea ecosystem completely. Shallow water means also dangerous short waves during storms, which have sunk ships with much less dangerous loads in the past. Listing numerous legal violations committed during the project here would mean few people would ever make it to the end of this article...

### Local self-organisation

Since 1996 local inhabitants have organised countless pickets and rallies against terminal project, 15 000 people have subscribed the petition with their full personal details. Initiator group for binding municipal referendum has been founded seven times, city council has once decided in favour of the referendum and twice it has made a resolution against the project. However city mayor Evgeni Lesnyak has submitted under the pressure of regional government, although he took the post over from his pro-terminal precedent in last elections by promising not to build the terminal. Soon after court gave green light to construction in April 8th 2003, local inhabitants began organising protests. First Rainbow Keepers arrived to city 10th of June, organising a continuous information point in the centre of the town. On June 26th, July 3rd, July 4th and July 7th demonstrations and blockades of the road to construction

hours were organised. From 700 to 9000 people participated in demonstrations, almost 10% of the local population participated to the biggest demonstration organised 3rd of July. The campaign is supported by one local newspaper, and events got attention of national mass-media. The symbolical protest camp was set up near the construction place. From 7th of July onwards local people, Rainbow Keepers and Autonomous Action made a continuous blockade on the road leading to the site of the project, this managed to halt construction for a while. 10th of July a lorry driver tried to ride over blockade, injuring one Rainbow Keeper. Soon lorry drivers found other ways to the site, and blockade took a more symbolical character.

17th of July in Azov (Rostov region) a meeting demanding an immediate stoppage of methanol terminal construction took place. Action began outside city administration building 5 PM, some 2000 people gathered altogether. Protestors shouted "Stop methanol, jail gang of Chuba!" (Chuba is the governor of Rostov oblast). "There won't be any terminal!" and "As long as we are united, no one will beat us!". Soon after beginning of the meeting one participant descended from the roof of the building with ropes writing a graffiti "War against terminal" to wall of the building. Soon participants of meeting recognised how police officers pulled activist back to the roof attempting to arrest him and his support, so they went on blocking all doors of the building shouting "freedom to heroes!" and "today we are here with placards, tomorrow we will come with spades!". Redactor of local journal "Chiray-Telenedelya" Yuri Golubev and Cossack ataman Yuri Kolobrodov mediated with officials, and protestors managed to get arrested activists freed. Protest meeting moved to square of the Third International, where people who have participated to daily blockades of the road to terminal gave speech. When people learned how police officials had attacked senior citizens during blockades and one lorry had hit one participant of the blockade (fortunately without serious consequences), meeting made a resolution and decided to organise next blockade 21st of July.

### Excerpts from the resolution of the meeting

"...participants of the meeting have also decided, that in case our demands are not fulfilled, we will begin civil disobedience campaign. We will close Rostov-Azov-Starominskaya-Krasnodar highway. Besides this, inhabitants of Azov will maintain their constitutional right and freedom to organise a new protest outside the administration of the city. A strike committee is about to begin organisation of a city-wide general strike..."

"...organisers of the meeting, having noticed high activity of the citizens, point out that vast majority of Azov inhabitants who have participated to meeting have declared that they are committed to eliminate the ecological danger by dis-



mantling the terminal and blockading a federal highway, as well as by boycotting duma and presidential elections."

26th of July there was a symbolical blockade on Krasnodar-Rostov highway, which was organised by people protesting against methanol terminal planned to be constructed to the city of Azov. Because local officials had asked not to organise a blockade since the problem will be solved anytime soon, protesters made a purely symbolical blockade just for a couple of minutes. Some 500 people participated to demonstration altogether. Soon city mayor Peshkov was spotted in the rear of the meeting, and he was surrounded by protesters. After some arrogant answers he tried to withdraw, but when people began shouting "shame on you!", he had to return almost crying, and had to promise to stop traffic to construction site, take care about construction of a bypass road and to organise a special city duma meeting on the problem of the terminal. People let mayor go, and shouting "Azov wake up, we will win, there won't be terminal!" people marched by Moscow street to the centre of the city.

31st of July police of Azov region decided not to proceed with criminal charges against two anarchist protestors, who were arrested for distributing placards in the city. Criminal charges against Rainbow Keepers

who made graffiti on the wall of the city administration during action 17th of July are still pending.

1st of August city administration sent a delegate to symbolical blockade of the road to construction site. Delegate announced, that there will soon be a special meeting in the regional (oblast) administration on the question of the planned terminal, taking into consideration resolutions made in popular-meetings 3rd and 17th of July. Before that past mayor had personally promised, that during research on possible solutions of the conflict around methanol terminal the road to construction site will be blocked. There is not yet any signs of this blockade to appear, but delegate demanded from protesters to take measures to calm down social tensions in the city.

#### Increasing repression

In Friday 1st of August, several police officers invaded camp uprooting tents and verbally abusing participants. Pretext of their action were false claims by terminal staff that ecological protesters had stolen property from the terminal construction site. The same day, Andrei Tsarevskiy (Autonomous Action-Rostov) and Ivan Ovsyannikov (Autonomous Action-Yaroslavl) were arrested for distribution of posters and leaflets about major protest of 9th of August, which has promised to blockade Krasnodar-Rostov highway in case administration has not taken steps to halt the construction. In contradiction with police claims, distribution of leaflets and posters is

completely legal. It is unlikely police had any doubt on this either, since Tsarevskiy and Ovsyannikov were not fined but they just spent 7 hours in a police station, during which police was abusing and threatening activists with torture and burning. Police also promised to destroy the whole protest camp. In Sunday 3rd of August police tried to arrest Tsarevskiy another time in the centre square of Azov, but city dwellers present in the square began protesting immediately and police had to let him go. During weekend, 3 activists were also arrested for lack of the registration.

5th of August workers of the terminal tried to destroy blockade which protestors are maintaining in the supply road every day during working hours. Seven persons came to blockade by cars, and began tearing down the blockade armed with night-sticks, handcuffs and pepper spray. Attackers managed to beat up some people, but soon protesters set up a human chain with 20 persons, which attackers could not move. Some protesters were injured, but nobody moved. Soon attackers, apparently from the security of the terminal, realised that they are photographed, and assaulted photographer. He managed to escape, and two chasing guards of the terminal had an unexpected bath in a swamp nearby. Police arrived soon, halting the attack of the terminal security and carrying them away.

6th of August, two Rainbow Keepers were arrested in the area of the terminal. Vladimir and Evgeni tried to climb to a crane, but were caught by workers and beaten up. Evgeni had his rib broken. When protesters learned about this, they organised a meeting in the gates of the

construction site and moved to police station around 5.30 PM. Protesters shouted "Freedom to our comrades!", when they learned that Evgeni was imprisoned for five days for "minor hooliganism", they began shouting "Shame on the justice system!" In legal terms, hooliganism by definition is an act without any motivation, which for sure was not case in this political protest. Vladimir is 17 years old and he was threatened to be sent to children's camp, but in the evening he was released.

7th of August around 9 am security of the construction site came to blockade of the supply line of the terminal. Security ordered to close the protest camp which they claimed to be located to area of the construction site, and threatened to run over the camp with a bulldozer. Security failed to show any documents which could prove that camp was located to area owned by the company. There were only few people in camp that time, and they had to submit to threats of the security. Tents were pulled down, but after one hour campers came back to set up one tent. Security moved to pull tent down and to catch one activist, but police which had arrived refused to arrest her. After this security calmed down and tried not to interfere during rest of the day. In the morning of 8th of August security once again moved to pull down one of the tents, they also hit two persons who had slept in the tent, and did threat that they will call nazis to attack the



camp. Eventually activists had to close the camp, and move to "campaign headquarters", an empty building with few hundred meter distance from the construction site provided by one inhabitant of the Molokanovki area. Plain clothes police kept harassing camp almost daily basis by invading building without search warrant and without showing their documents, checking documents and arresting people for several hours, but protests had not to move another time since pulling over the house would have been too much even for the local police. Resources of the local police and FSB to clamp down the protest seem to be limitless. 26th and 27th of August from 9 AM to 7 PM two cars with antenna and retranslator were spotted near protest headquarter, so obviously FSB was also attempting to track all discussions taking place in the camp. 29th of August police try to frame one of the activists for grass possession, local people reported that day before police had been destroying one of the countless uncontrolled marihuana plantations in the city, and now a full sack suddenly "appeared" in the campaign headquarters. Police had also a doctor with them, checking campaign headquarter for "infections", forcing one participant to hospital, from where he was released later that day without any diagnosis. In the afternoon of the 8th of August campers organised an action for comrades arrested 6th of August. People came to police station with flags and banner "Free Evgeni Chyotov!". A blockade of Rostov-Krasnodar highway was organised 9th of August, action began with a rally 11 AM, 12.15

participants moved to blockade highway, everything lasted until 3 PM. More than 150 people participated to action, blockade was a mobile one which walked 2.5 kilometres on the highway to one direction and then back to the city, following the same way. During meeting and demonstration the following slogans were scanned: There won't be any terminal! Azov is unpolluted land, build that terminal to Kreml! Shame on the city mayor! Down with power and capital! There won't be any terminal here! Today we are here with placards, tomorrow with spades! (or alternatively with machine guns) Remove governor Chuba! There were few skirmishes with police during the blockade, provoked by police and plain-clothes FSB. A couple of times police tried to catch speakers but they failed. Three participants of the campaign were singled out from the march by plain clothes police and FSB, one of them was brutally beaten by six officials. In end of the action police officers wrote down personal details of most of the organisers.

11th of August 7 AM four police officers invaded to camp and arrested two campaign participants, Aleksander Zimbovski and Marina Popova. Cops were lead by officer Dimitri Li Chun Shun, and they did not showed any documents to prove their identity and for justification of the arrest. Later people learned that two persons arrested are charged with "minor hooliganism". Popova was sentenced to 12 days of imprisonment, and Zimbovski to 15 days of imprisonment. Prosecutor had 2 witnesses, who gave contradictory testimonies - another said that action (of 9th of August) went on Kirov street, another said it was on Mehtok street. Judge K. A. Gordienko did not allowed accused to use their own lawyer, and public lawyer provided by the state was denied his legal right to make a closing statement. When 5 camp



activists from Rainbow Keepers, Association of Anarchist Movements (ADA, Russian section of IFA) and Autonomous Action went to police station to learn about reasons of the arrests, they were arrested as well. This wave of arrests is for sure because of the blockade of the Saturday, police was just too afraid to arrest people during the demonstration. In the evening of Monday the 11th, participants of the camp learned that police stops participants in the street, asks their documents, takes documents and then arrests people for the lack of the documents. Arrested people were sent to jail in Rostov-na-Donu. Dees however did not finish his sentence, since he declared a dry-hungerstrike, and when he was sent to a hospital due to weakened condition he did not return to prison.

#### Stop protests, by any means necessary!

Protest campers and local inhabitants of Azov decided to move protests from Azov to Rostov-na-Donu 25th of August, since the Rostov oblast governor Chuba is in any case the main person responsible for the ecologically disastrous-methanol terminal project. Aim was to organise a symbolical "funeral of the nature of Azov", where local inhabitants would lay flowers in front of the Rostov oblast administration. This planned ultra-peaceful and ultra-mode-

rate action provoked repression which reached a completely absurd level. Hundreds of police were mobilised to stop this "funeral procession". Action was planned to take place 11 AM in Rostov, but soon after 6 AM every local train from Azov to Rostov (which is 45 kilometres north from Rostov) was searched by police, and two blockades were set in the road connecting Azov and Rostov. Every bus and mini-bus was searched for potential demonstrators.

Two free buses organised for Azov inhabitants were never allowed to leave for Rostov. Among dozens of people arrested in the road were 4 elderly persons, who seemed to be travelling to a real funeral with their flower buckets, and for sure much more people who just happened to have flowers with them for a reason or another were stopped.

Infamous Rainbow Keepers activist Aleksandr "Dees" Zimbovski was kidnapped by police already the previous day to do the remaining 8 days from the 15 days sentence he had got from co-organising the protest of 9th of August. Dees declared a new dry hungerstrike immediately after his arrest, and was eventually released one day prior end of the sentence, having fasted without water one week. Protest campaign headquarters (an abandoned building in Azov) was raided 7 AM, fortunately most of the people had left for Rostov in small groups already 5 AM, so only 7 persons were arrested there. Besides Rainbow Keepers, many delegates from 3rd general meeting of the Autonomous Action which was finished the day before in a secret location in Azov outskirts headed for the

Rostov. But due to total control at least 12 anarchists were arrested on the road, and only 5 made it to Rostov - 4 to be arrested later on in Rostov (among them Marina Popova who was sent to Rostov prison to continue his sentence for action of 9th of August), and the single anarchist who made it there could only watch small picket going on from outside a square, completely sealed by police and guarded by 3 busloads of the notorious OMON and SOBR special forces. Local inhabitants succeeded a bit better than anarchists, since one of them managed to make it to the protest with a bucket of flowers, which was however torn away from him by police on the spot. Some 20 Rostov ecologists were picketing with this single Azov inhabitant, together they posed a horrible danger to the law and order in Rostov oblast. Generally those few lucky ones who managed to make it to the square were not harassed anymore, since there was a lot of media present.

Of course police had not any legal pretext for arrests, formally they did it for "clearing the identity" of people, for which Russian police has a right to arrest people for 3 hours. But everyone was kept more than 4 hours, and subjected to abuse, searches, harassment and FSB interrogations. Some of the arrested faced serious trumped up criminal charges. One Finnish participant of the camp was kidnapped to Rostov from Azov, FSB was obviously trying to find a pretext for his deportation from Russia although he had not broken any laws.

Unfortunately in the very same morning mindless terrorist act took place in Krasnodar, only 250 kilometres south from Rostov, so to some extent public attention was directed out from the huge police repression which maybe also got some legitimisation due to terrorists. It is sure that blockades around Azov had no connection to Krasnodar bombs, since they were set up hours before explosions in Krasnodar.

#### End of the camp

Most of the activists have had to leave the camp due to end of the holidays, but some Rainbow Keepers and Autonomous Action militants are planning to stay in the spot until October. In another hand all-out over-reaction by police forces has proven that protest campaign has really succeeded to make political elite afraid, but repression has also gained some results, and many Azov inhabitants are now afraid to continue protests. 21st of August campaigners were told that construction is now halted without a time limit, and a commission to look issue of ecological problems has finally been set up. Decision by oblast authorities to stop construction seem to be a real one, but there is also testimony that construction still continues.

Activists leaving the camp had mixed feelings, in another hand

local authorities had effectively managed to clamp down protests, in latest meeting of September 4th only few hundred local inhabitants took part. In another hand, decision to stop construction has legal force, so in 5th of September few remaining camp participants declared a victory, and that they will continue organising protests if the construction will continue.

Local organisers also considerably toned down their rhetoric, as some extracts from the resolution of the meeting of September 4th show:

*"Organisers of the meeting, like always, call to tolerance and mutual respect between inhabitants of the city and the authorities. We are children of the same city, and we should live in peace! We ask all the inhabitants, who have revealed provocateurs, to give them to authorities. We are not interested about destabilisation. Organisers of the meeting, who are aware of the high level of activity among local inhabitants, notice that vast majority of Azov inhabitants who participate to demonstrations and meetings have announced that in case powers are not willing to take concrete measures to fulfil their demands, they will boycott Duma and presidential elections or support any opposition parties, even radical ones, which are ready to fulfil their demands." This "support to opposition parties" was certainly not seen in any of the previous protests! Resolution for sure reflects differences between mostly anarchist organisers of the camp, and self-proclaimed local leaders of the protests, such as editor-in-chief of the journal "Chitay-Telenedelya" Yuri Golubev, and lea-*

ders of the local Cossack organisation, all of whom have their own political interests in regards to elections. Although these were the people inviting anarchists in the first place, they apparently were not so happy about some of the things anarchists were doing. Some young inhabitants of the city decided to organise a local fraction of Autonomous Action, but it is unlikely that group will have lots of influence to upcoming agenda of the movement when most of the anarchists have left. Almost any of the Rainbow Keeper protest camps face the same dilemma, although in Azov local people were definitely inspired by some new forms of protests which anarchist brought around, in the end many of the campaigns just end up being cards in the hands of competing local power groups. Few local people are ready to take similar risks as anarchists, and Azov camp was much smaller than usual protest camps since warning was received so late - due to these two factors it was not too hard for police to harass participants of the camp. The radical rhetoric of July and August about electionary boycotts and general strikes is mostly gone now, but however yet it is impossible to say was obvious bluffing by local "leaders" of the campaign enough to make final results. It is unlikely, since in the beginning of the methanol production chain one finds Gazprom, corporation controlling more valuable share of the natural resources than any other corporation on earth. From the very beginnings fight was uneven at least. It will take months until we may see final results (or lack of them) of the summer actions. But achievements thus far show that besides the widespread pessimism small local anarchist movement may give valuable help to local people, even when campaign has practically no any funds.



# ABC ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

## MOSCOW ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

### Moscow Anarchist Black Cross group formed

After discussions in meeting of Moscow anarchist groups last June, it was decided to set up a group of Anarchist Black Cross. Now after a summer break our introductory text is ready. We do not yet have any contact addresses, but they will be set up anytime soon. Projects listed below are just a sort of plan, there are just a few activists and I do not know if we have chances to realize all of them.

### Anarchist Black Cross of Moscow introductory text

After heated years 1905-1907 thousands of anarchists and socialists were sent to labour camps and exile, first groups of Anarchist Black Cross (until 1919 Anarchist Red Cross) were founded 1906 to support them. Organisational became international the next year already, when a group was set up in London. Although contact with anarchist political prisoners of the Soviet Union was lost in 1930's, international organisation has continued its activity in various forms ever since.

Russian anarchist movement newborn in 1980's faced immediately repressions, and during the following 15 years various successful and unsuccessful campaigns against repression were organised. But during first years of the 21st century these initiatives disappeared completely from Moscow, and in summer of 2003 it was decided to set up a Moscow group of ABC, since still no-one is protecting anarchists against repressions except anarchists themselves.

We support all anti-authoritarians, who are persecuted due to their political activities or acts which do not contradict anarchist ideals. And whenever possible, we support also prisoners who became anti-authoritarians during their sentences, so-called "social prisoners" who were forced to break laws for subsistence, and prisoners who fight against the prison-industrial complex from inside, since as anarchists we are against all prisons. We believe in direct action for destruction of the capitalism and the state. We are not a human rights organisation, since our goal is not defence of the laws but their destruction. In some cases we may support prisoner for purely humanitarian reasons.

Most elementary form of help is writing to prisoners, since the main goal of power is to isolate our comrades from the movement. We are publishing list of addresses of the political prisoners, so that anyone could send letters of support. We also have a support fund, which helps with legal costs and supports prisoners materially, fund also finances literature to prisoners, such as journals Avtonom and Pryamoe Deystvie which we send for free to all those prisoners in the former Soviet Union upon request, who are not enemies of the anarchist movement. We are also connected to Black Cross groups all around the world.

We are not only reacting against most outrageous acts against our freedom, we also distribute information on alternatives of the prisons, cops and electronic surveillance of the everyday life, since attack is the best defence. We also try to prevent repression, this is why we distribute information about behaviour in interrogations among the revolutionary movement.

Moscow group of Anarchist Black Cross is a common project of anarchist collectives in Moscow. Yet we have two members - Moscow group of Autonomous Action, and Inter - Professional Union of Labour (MPST, Moscow

group of KRAS-AIT). We invite anyone to support and to participate to our work - most elementary form of support is to write to prisoners and to distribute our materials. It would be even better if you could participate to our projects, or to set up your own Black Cross group in your area - for that you need only thirst of equality and solidarity.

### Moscow

October 9th 2003

In August 2003 26 years old anti-authoritarian Anastasia Drozdova was assaulted in Moscow without any clear reason. Anastasia is a journalist working in paper "Gazeta", as well as member of editorial collective of a recently deceased libertarian theoretical journal "Naperekor". Anastasia travelled from Moscow to her summer cottage in station Manihino (Riga direction) by local train, this day her mobile phone was broken and no-one was meeting her at the station, which is unusual. When she went on the road, in the most darkest spot she was assaulted by two men who came with the same train. There is no any apparent reason for the assault, such as rape or robbery. One of the assaulting men was holding her while another was beating and strangling. Attackers were beating and kicking her for a long time, she tried to resist. They grabbed her necklace and handbag which she had dropped in the beginning of the assault, and ran away. Face of Anastasia was completely ragged, she had to rest two weeks after mysterious assault.

It is likely that action was an act of revenge or an attempt to threat journalist, who is known of her independent views, anti-war position and participation to social movements. Not a long time before assault Anastasia made an interview of Dagestanian opposition politician Hachilaev. Topic of the interview, published in "Gazeta" is corruption in the highest levels of Dagestan government. Soon after interview Hachilaev was murdered. Another possible reason of the attack could be an attempt to make some pres-

sure against Anastasia's husband Vladimir Matviev, who makes a website which supports Chechen separatists.

## HOT SUMMER OF REPRESSION IN ROMANIA

Very recently secret police started again their work against anarchists in Timisoara, Romania. Maybe they never stopped... One guy had a visit from an undercover police in the place where he was living a while ago. The person is running from military service and he's doing this for about 2 years. This might be also a way to warn him. Although he wasn't so active in organising or agitating. One girl had a visit to her hometown by 2 secret agents which told to the family lots of crazy stories about drugs and anarchism. Now the person has big problems with family. It seems that she was followed since highschool (that means 4-5 years ago).

After some research, more and more infos come out about visits of secret police to different people in the past year. It seems that some people prefer to speak with the police (although the visit is informal and illegal) because they want to take the blame out of themselves (and because they are really not involved ... so it's just unjustified paranoia of stupid romanian brainwashed youth and not only youth!). Also, they seem to have some guilt feelings, because they are not telling us about these visits and just drop out slowly (yes! very smart).

It seems more and more that situation will get complicated in here, because having a pretty young scene, they can be very impressed sometimes and this is what the police is relying on.

Hoarda anarhista nu moare,  
nu se predă!

Ea ramane in continuare pe  
baricade si lupta!

We don't die,  
we don't surrender!  
We stay on the barricades  
and keep on fighting!

# ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS



## Calendar of workers' protests in Poland 2002

**Laziska Górne, 23.05.2002.**

Over 500 workers from Laziska Smelting Works were protesting in defence of their work places. "We won't let to close the firm down so easy and fired couple thousand of people. If there's no other solution we will protest in Katowice and than in Warsaw" - said Z. Woznica one of the organiser of protest. 750 workers can loose their job at the end of July.

**Glucholazy, 23.05.2002.**

Inhabitants of Glucholazy supported with warm applause about 900 workers from medical cares' institute protested against shutting down their plant

**Białystok, 03.06.2002.**

In front of a building of Bison - Bial Factory were protesting several hundreds of people. They are preparing a citation to the court regarding to their back pays. The staff don't get their salaries for six months. On April the management send to the court an application of firm's bankruptcy, but it was turned down. Two weeks ago workers appealed to the government and the President of RP for help.

**Nysa, 03.06.2002.**

The Economic Court in Opole announced a bankruptcy of Nysa Motors. Unionists were screaming "Shame!" during the trial. The staff is not going to let to division and sell of property. In Nysa for one week lasts a hunger - strike.

**Skarżysko-Kamienna, 03.06.2002.**

During this month Zakłady Meralowe Mesko S.A. will dismiss 1 of its staff. There are first protests. Workers say that that on the dismissal list are bread-winners - sometimes they maintain even several children. Also specialists, necessary for firm's existence are being fired. The management don't want to fired people without families and with shorter practise. Driven to despair people say that in most of the cases about dismissal decide connections.

**Laziska Górne, 3-4.06.2002.**

Protesting workers of Laziska Smelting Works blockaded route No. 81. Next day almost 500 of workers manifested in front of Provincial Office in Katowice. They were demanding of settling in solutions that will prevent bankruptcy of the firm.

**Andrychów, 03.06.2002.**

"In first week of July we're planning to dismiss about 500 people" - informed the management of Andoria S.A. in letter addressed to trade unions and the Labour Office. Now the trade unions have 45 days on reaction. The firm since long time has very serious problems. Workers get their salaries in rates per 200 zł. factory lost its economic liquidity and the debts came up to 90. 000.000 zł. Protest is lasting for one year. Unions plans to intensify actions, as say the unionists - the example of Szczecin Dockyard has prove, that only radical actions can be successful.

**Lacina, 3.06.2002.**

Workers of "Bukowa Góra" Mine in Lacina blocked the route from Kielce to Warsaw. The participants of demonstration crossed the route for about 2 hours. After the police intervention they moved into pavement. The protest showed their solidarity with threatened with shutting down the "Laziska" foundry.

**Brzeg, 03.06.2002.**

For another time unionists from NSZZ Solidarity80 were protesting in front of Kama Foods Factory. To workers demanding payment of their back pays came out representatives of the management. One

month ago lasting 15 days stay - in strike and hunger strike organised by Solidarity80 has ended by signature of document in which the management undertake to pay in May the back pays. (workers don't get their salaries for seven months!) Unionists are afraid that the management talking about solution of crisis in the company, in fact goes to the insolvency.

**Limanowa, 4.06.2002.**

Protest of nurses from the hospital in Limanowa against dismissals

**Szczecin, 10.06.2002.**

About 3000 workers gathered in front of seat of Dockyard's management. Large group of people wanted to start a stay - in strike.

**Szczecin, 10.06.2002.**

In Odra S.A. a strike has started. At first workers send applications to the Labour Court, cause they don't get their salaries since few months. The staff leads the strike by discontinuing work for four hours a day.

**Białystok, 11.06.2002.**

In front of seat of Bison - Bial Company took place a public meeting of several hundreds of workers. The staff lodged a complaint to the public prosecutor's office, because they don't get their salaries for six months.

**Szczecin, 13.06.2002.**

About 2000 dockyard's workers gathered at 10 o'clock on public meeting in front of seat of Dockyard's management. They announced that they will start a stay - in strike in case of firm's insolvency.

**Szczecin, 13-14.06.2002.**

Another protests dockyard's workers on streets of Szczecin.

**Katowice, 14.06.2002.**

"Take your hands away from mining!" - with this banner members of "Sierpień'80" ("August'80") Trade Union protested against planned changing in mining. About 350 members of trade union occupied city-council building in Katowice.

**Ozarów - Warszawa, 20.06.2002.**

At 9 o'clock workers of Cables Factory in Ozarów started they march to the Capital City (20 km) The main aim of manifestation was to get an answer for petition, which was given to the President and Prime Minister 4 weeks ago. Workers don't agree on liquidation of the company. In the manifestation took part about 2500 people from. Closing of this factory means liquidation of 900 work places. The action in front of Cables Factory lasts since 59 days.

**Szczecin, 20.06.2002.**

Over 3 000 workers of the Dockyard came through the streets in silent march - it was a protest against announcing the decision of company's insolvent. The action met with a warm reception of citizens.

**Poznań, 20.06.2002.**

In front of Provincial Office in Poznań took place a picket of solidarity with protesting workers of Cables factory in Ozarów. Protest was organised by KNSZZ Solidarity80 - Poznań, Konfederacja Pracy - Poznań and Workers' Initiative/ Anarchist Federation - Poznań. In action took part about 50 people. Protesting announced a manifestation which will take place on 28th of Jun in connection with 46th anniversary of Poznań Jun 1956.

**Białystok, 21.06.2002.**

Workers from Bison - Bial Factory were protesting for couple of hours on the city's streets. They were blockading the motion, delivered a petition to the mayor and were picketing the bank in which the company has its debts. This is the first step to radicalisation of protest - since Thursday in

Bison-Bial lasts a hunger - strike in which take part 16 people.

**Szczecin, 21.06.2002.**

Dockyard's workers once again started their march from the gate of the company. They took with them only polish flags - no other banners. Once again they had with them gallows with nine halters - "for ex - members of the directors' board" They were scanning : " We want Bread! We want Work!". Workers behave very loud when they were coming next to the banks : " Thieves! The dockyard is our, not yours!"

**Warszawa, 25.06.2002.**

About 800 workers from Bison - Bial and other companies were protesting in front of the seat of Metalexport - a company that is the main owner of their factory. They had with them flags of trade unions - OPZZ and Solidarity80 and also banners: " We want Bread!", "Buecliner is a thief!" (businessman Piotr Buecliner is the president of Metalexport ). The protest was illegal.

**Warszawa, 25.06.2002.**

In front of NBP (National Bank of Poland) started a demonstration of OPZZ against the neoliberal politic of the Central Bank. According to information of organisers - there were 3000 people, according to police - 2000.

**Szczecin 26.06.2002.**

A march of workers from the Szczecin shipyard was finished after above 4 hours.

**Warszawa, 27.06.2002.**

Several hundreds of Szczecin dockyard's workers and others shipyards and factories connected with shipyard industry came to Warsaw to demand putting in order the situation of Szczecin Dockyard. In demonstration took part members of OPZZ, Solidarity, Solidarity80 and others trade unions, their banners were saying : " Do you want a second Argentina?", " We are warning you against the social explosion!"

**Pulawy, 27.06.2002.**

About 1.5 thousand people - workers of Nitrogenous Factory in Pulawy and citizens gathered on public meeting in front of Municipal Office. They were protesting against governmental plans of Changes in chemistry industries. Workers think that this kind of changes are equal with division of they company. Protesting had banners : " Today unemployed - tomorrow homeless".

**Szczecin, 28.06.2002.**

Another big demonstration of Dockyard's workers.

**Poznań, 28.06.2002.**

Several hundreds of unionists - mainly from HCP Factory from Poznań were protesting on city streets against dismissals in their companies. Unionists march has started under the main gate of HCP, later workers walked down the city streets to the monument of Poznań Jun, scanning : " Miller - Killer!", " Government go to work for 600-złoty!", " Ozarów, Nysa, Poznań, Szczecin!", " Inter - firm solidarity!", " Freedom, Equality, Mutual Help!". To Poznań came delegations from different regions of Poland.

**Białystok, 28.06.2002.**

Till 5th of July the staff of Bison - Bial will get its salaries for Jun and an answer - when the production of the factory will set in motion. The hunger strike in firm was broken.

**Szczecin, 01.07.2002.**

About 4 thousands of Dockyard's workers Started another march. They were driven to despair - the management couldn't say when exactly will the production start and how many people will be employed in the new dockyard. Workers didn't take their salaries for April - they said they will wait

till money will be in every company of shipyard's holding.

**Ozarów, 02.07.2002.**

At 10 o'clock the route Warsaw - Berlin was being blockaded by workers of Cables Factory. Protesting people hope that the government will finally see their problems.

**Szczecin, 03.07.2002.**

Another silent march of thousands of dockyard's workers.

**Białystok, 3.07.2002.**

More than 200 people protested under the psychiatric hospital in Choroszcz in order to save this institution from closing. Action was organised by the Federation of the Trade Unions.

**Skarżysko-Kamienna, 10.07.2002.**

Trade Union started an occupied strike in the "Mesko" S.A. factory in Skarżysko Kamienna. The unionists festooned the building with flags and banners and begin open dispute with the management. First of all they demand receiving unpaid salaries.

**Poznań, 11.07.2002.**

About 20 women packing products in the small "I-Magic" plant protested against low salaries. They left their work places.

**Warszawa, 12.07.2002.**

Workers of cables Factory from Ozarów were protesting under the seat of Prime Minister. They wanted to express their protest against liquidation of their firm. They accused to - day's owner - company Tele Forika of purposeful distraction of factory.

**Ostrowiec, 15.07.2002.**

The trade unionists from the bankrupt Ostrowiec S.A. foundry didn't let the shareholders to enter the steelworks. The unionists struggle for workplaces and saving the production.

**Szczecin, Poznań, Łódź, Katowice 18.07.2002.**

In this day took place protests co-ordinated by OKP (all-Polish Protesting Committee) In Szczecin was organised a manifestation according to governmental debate about the future of polish shipyard's industry. In Poznań has place a demonstration of solidarity with Szczecin - workers of HCP and people from Workers' Initiative/ Anarchist Federation were protesting in front of Provincial Office. Shopkeepers from Łódź as an act of solidarity banged out the black flags on the markets. Independent from OKP trade unions from OPZZ and Solidarity organised manifestation under the Provincial Office in Katowice, in defend of mines.

**Katowice, 22.07.2002.**

A picket under the city-council building in Śląsk was arranged by over 300 trade unionist from "Sierpień'80".

**Szczecin, Poznań, Kraków, Lublin, Łódź, Opole, Bydgoszcz, Białystok, Gdansk, Kielce, 23.07.2002.**

All-polish protesting action organised by OKP. In Szczecin in manifestation took part about 4000 people. In Lublin were protesting workers from Nitrogenous Factory in Pulawy. In Krakow in front of the smelting works took place a public meeting as an act of solidarity with Szczecin. In front of Provincial Office in Poznań Anarchist Federation and trade unions from HCP organised a manifestation - they were protesting against dismissal in they work places. In other polish cities sympathisers of OKP Delivered to the voivods their postulates and petitions...

Here we are running out of space. Full calendar and more about workers' protests in Poland you can find on

[www.ip.hardcore.lt](http://www.ip.hardcore.lt)



# COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

## THE NEVER COMPLETE LIST OF ANARCHIST GROUPS, PROJECTS AND COLLECTIVES FROM EASTERN EUROPE.

### Armenia

"Proryv" - anarcho-communist group from Yerevan;  
<http://www.ad-em.narod.ru.vaga@freenet.am>

### Belarus

ABC Belarus - Belarus 230023 Grodno p.o. box 217;  
[intolerant@autonom.zn.com](mailto:intolerant@autonom.zn.com); [www.anarchistblackcross.by.ru](http://www.anarchistblackcross.by.ru)

AFA (Antifascist Action) - Minsk;  
[restless81@mail.ru](mailto:restless81@mail.ru)

Anarchist Library - Minsk; [antyfa@mail.ru](mailto:antyfa@mail.ru)

Anti-McDonald - <http://belmac.narod.ru>

<http://kompakt.narod.ru>

ANTYFA - antifascist group; [antyfa@mail.ru](mailto:antyfa@mail.ru)

Autonomous Action / Grodno - Grodno P.O. Box 38  
 230015 Grodno; Belarus

Autonomous Action / Minsk - Minsk P.O. Box 34  
 220030 Minsk; Belarus

"Ataka" - anarchist newspaper; [ataka@tut.by](mailto:ataka@tut.by)

BAF / Belarusian Anarchy Front -; [baf@list.ru](mailto:baf@list.ru)

Belarusian Linux Community -

[www.linux.hitech.by](http://www.linux.hitech.by)

"Ecoresist" - anarcho-ecological group;  
[ecoaction@tut.by](mailto:ecoaction@tut.by)

FAB / Federation of Belarusian Anarchist -

\* Minsk; P.O. Box 33; 220134;

\* Novopoloc; [nuts-1@rambler.ru](mailto:nuts-1@rambler.ru)

"Free Theatre" - anarchist theatre from city of Brest;  
[ksenia\\_jzberg@mail.ru](mailto:ksenia_jzberg@mail.ru)

KDS "Razam" / Confederation of Active  
 Initiatives "Together" - 230005 Belarus; Grodno  
 P.O. Box 237; [kds-razam@tut.by](mailto:kds-razam@tut.by); [www.razam.by.ru](http://www.razam.by.ru)

"Navinki" - satirical anarchist weekly newspaper;  
 Minsk; [kampranai@tut.by](mailto:kampranai@tut.by)

"Rebelious girls" - anti-sexist initiative in Minsk;  
[rebelgirls@mail.ru](mailto:rebelgirls@mail.ru)

[www.anarchisthistory.boom.ru](http://www.anarchisthistory.boom.ru) - history of anarchy in  
 Belarus

[www.375crew.org](http://www.375crew.org) - d.i.y. political punk / hardcore cul-  
 ture of Belarus

### Bulgaria

"Anarho Sprotiva" (Anarchist Resistance) - new-  
 spaper; <http://resistance.hit.bg>

"Chlyab i svoboda" (Bread and freedom) - newspa-  
 per / discussion forum; <http://savanne.ch/svoboda>; [svoboda@bulgaria.com](mailto:svoboda@bulgaria.com)

"Anarchy in BG" - <http://change.to/anarchy>; [anarchy@bulgaria.com](mailto:anarchy@bulgaria.com)

### Croatia

AFA - anarchist antifa network; [www.vjecniotpor.vze.com](http://www.vjecniotpor.vze.com)

AnFemA (Anarcho-Feminist-Action) -  
[anfema@zaminet.net](mailto:anfema@zaminet.net)

"Monte Paradiso" - squat/social centre in Pula; URK  
 Monteparadiso ex Vojana K.Rojc; Gajeva 5; 52100  
 Pula; <http://squat.net/monteparadiso>; [monteparadiso@pu.tel.hr](mailto:monteparadiso@pu.tel.hr)

R.A.I. - Anarchist Initiative of Rijeka;  
[rai200@net.hr](mailto:rai200@net.hr)

Z.A.F. / Zadar Anarchist Front - local anarchist  
 group in the city of Zadar;  
[zadarskianarchisti@yahoo.com](mailto:zadarskianarchisti@yahoo.com); [solidarnost.mahost.org](http://solidarnost.mahost.org)

ZAP / Zagrebacki Anarhisticki Pokret -  
 Zagreb's Anarchist Movement;  
[www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Senate/3707](http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Senate/3707); [zapzg@zamin-zg.zn.apc.org](mailto:zapzg@zamin-zg.zn.apc.org)

### Czechia

ABC-CSAF - c/o P.H., po box 41, 565-01 Chocen.  
[abc@csaf.cz](mailto:abc@csaf.cz)

AFA - anarchist anti-fascists group; po box 81; 100 81  
 Praha 105; [afa\\_praha@volny.cz](mailto:afa_praha@volny.cz)

AKA - AnarchoComunist Alternative - (???)

"A-Kontra" - anarchist magazine and collective. po  
 box 223, 111 21 Praha 1; [a-kontra@csaf.cz](mailto:a-kontra@csaf.cz)

CSAF / Czechia - (CSAF - Czech-Slovakia Anarchist  
 Federation), po box 223, 111 21 Prague; [intersec@csafcz](mailto:intersec@csafcz)  
[www.csaf.cz/english](http://www.csaf.cz/english)

Federaci sociálních anarchistů (FSA - IWA)  
 (Federation of Social Anarchists) - PO box 5; 15006  
 Praha 56; [fsa\\_intersec@anarchismus.org](mailto:fsa_intersec@anarchismus.org) <http://fsa.anar->  
[chismus.org](http://chismus.org)

Feminist Alliance of March 8' - @-feminist group;  
[fs8.brezna@centrum.cz](mailto:fs8.brezna@centrum.cz)

Info-Shop - Sochanska 6; Prague.

"MILADA" - squat in Prague; [milada.sq@volny.cz](mailto:milada.sq@volny.cz)

ORA "Solidarity" - organization of revolutionary  
 anarchists; L.K. po box 223; 111 21 Praha 1;  
<http://alarm.solidarita.org>; [intersec@solidarita.org](mailto:intersec@solidarita.org)

"PAPIRNA" - squat in Prague.

PH - international secretariat of CSAF  
[intersec@csaf.cz](mailto:intersec@csaf.cz)

### Hungary

GONDOLKODO ANTIKVARIUM - book-shop run  
 by anarchists; 1066 Budapest O.u.40; <http://shminta->  
[ka.mahost.org](http://ka.mahost.org)

### Latvia

"ZABADAKS" - DIY political/cultural project, infoshop  
 etc.; Vijolisu 24; Kuldiga; LV-3300Latvia;  
[www.nekac.lv](http://www.nekac.lv); [maris.steinbergs@kuldiga.lv](mailto:maris.steinbergs@kuldiga.lv)

### Lithuania

"BENDRADARBIAT" - autonomous culture  
 centre in Siauliai; Vytauto g.103 A, Siauliai; tel.  
 370 69909049

### Macedonia

KOLEKTIV ZA SLOBODARSKA IDEJA -  
 anarchist collectiv in Skopje;  
[kolektiv\\_za\\_slobodarska\\_ideja@hotmail.com](mailto:kolektiv_za_slobodarska_ideja@hotmail.com); [slobodarska@zipip.com](mailto:slobodarska@zipip.com);  
[slobodarska@yahoo.com](mailto:slobodarska@yahoo.com); [slobodarska@hypocrisy.org](mailto:slobodarska@hypocrisy.org)

### Poland

ABC/ACK - [www.ack.most.org.pl](http://www.ack.most.org.pl)

ACK Warszawa - po box 30; 02-741 Warszawa 121.  
[biuletyn@ack.w.pl](mailto:biuletyn@ack.w.pl)

ACK Poznan - po box 5; 60-966 Poznan 31.  
[sanch@poczta.wp.pl](mailto:sanch@poczta.wp.pl)

ACK Bialystok - po box 43; 15-662 Bialystok 26.

ACK Slupsk - po box 65; 76-200 Slupsk 12. [bifa@pol-box.com](mailto:bifa@pol-box.com)

ACK Trojmiasto - Bartek Pomierski, ul. Wiewiortza  
 72; 80-126 Gdansk. [pomierz@fiko2.onet.pl](mailto:pomierz@fiko2.onet.pl)

ACK Wroclaw - S.A.K.A. ul. Jagielonczyka 10D; 50-  
 240 Wroclaw. [pbm@poprostu.pl](mailto:pbm@poprostu.pl)

ACK Lublin - Piotr Hiller, ul. Cwiklinskiego 2/30; 20-  
 067 Lublin. [cqkier@poczta.onet.pl](mailto:cqkier@poczta.onet.pl)

ACK Lodz - Lukasz Pieczara, ul. Swietozianki 23/7; 91-  
 496 Lodz 88. [lukaszpieczara@box43.pl](mailto:lukaszpieczara@box43.pl)

Anarchist Library - ul. Pulaskiego 21a; Poznan.

Anarchist Library - ul. Jagielonczyka 10D; Wroclaw.

"A-zine" - an anarchist publication in english contains  
 articles of polish anarchist groups. L.Akai, po box 227;  
 00-987 Warszawa 4. [cubc@zigzag.pl](mailto:cubc@zigzag.pl)

"BUNKIER" ("B 48") - underground concert/party  
 space; ul. Wschodnia 48; Torun.

"C-4" - alternative culture centre in Lodz (ul. Węglowa 4).

"Czarny Blok" ("Black Bloc") - anarchist publication  
 in polish; po box 43; 15-662 Bialystok 26.

"De Centrum" - anarchist squat in Bialystok, adress:  
 ul. Czestochowska 14/2; tel. +48 608082442

EMANCYPUNX - anarcha-feminist group; po box  
 145; 02-792 Warszawa 78.

FA (Anarchist Federation) - some of FA-sections you  
 can contact by local ABC/ACK groups.

FA-Praga (Warsaw) - J.Gawlikowski; po box 227; 00-  
 987 Warszawa 4.

FA-Rzeszow - ul. Kustronia 6/48; 35-303 Rzeszow; tel.  
 602517195

FA-Szczecin - po box 53; 70-474 Szczecin34;

[fa\\_szn@interia.pl](mailto:fa_szn@interia.pl)

Food Not Bombs / Gdansk - po box 118; 80-470  
 Gdansk 45.

Food Not Bombs / Olsztyn - [edchweiss@o2.pl](mailto:edchweiss@o2.pl)

Food Not Bombs / Rzeszow - ul. Kustronia 6/48; 35-303  
 Rzeszow; tel. 602769138.

Food Not Politics / Gliwice "S.E.K.W. Krzyk"; po  
 box 2; 44-101 Gliwice.

[jedeniezamiastpoliryki@poczta.onet.pl](mailto:jedeniezamiastpoliryki@poczta.onet.pl)

"FREEDOM" - Centre of Animation an Alternative  
 Culture / Anarchist Centre & Collective; ul.  
 Jagielonczyka 10D; Wroclaw. [freedom69@go2.pl](mailto:freedom69@go2.pl)

Grupa Anarchistyczna "Solidarnosc" (Anarchist  
 Group "Solidarity") po box 12; 60-975 Poznan 61.

"INFOSZOP" - infoshop / anarchist & feminist libra-  
 ry / info cafe in Warsaw; ul. Lotewska 11; Saska Kepa;  
 Warszawa. Open: Monday-Thursdays 18°-20°, Saturday  
 13°-17°, Sunday 14°-17°;  
[www.altermost.org.pl/infoshop](http://www.altermost.org.pl/infoshop); tel. +48 503676482

Inicjatywa Pracownicza FA / IP-FA (Workers  
 Initiative of FA) - federation of groups linked to FA focu-  
 sing on support for workers;

IP-FA / Szczecin - Dominik Sawicki, po box 53; 70-  
 474 Szczecin 34.

IP-FA / Silesia - po box 2; 44-100 Gliwice; inicjaty-  
 wa\_silesia@hoga.pl

KOLEKTYW AUTONOMISTOW (Collective of  
 Autonomists) - group of activist po box 13; 87-116  
 Torun 17; [michoo77@poczta.onet.pl](mailto:michoo77@poczta.onet.pl)

KUR.W.A. - Anarchist Revolutionary Coeducative  
 Feminist Group; [www.altermost.org.pl/kurwa](http://www.altermost.org.pl/kurwa) ;  
[piute@go2.pl](mailto:piute@go2.pl) ; [cubc@zigzag.pl](mailto:cubc@zigzag.pl)

"KROMERA" - squat/culture centre; ul. Kromera 6a;  
 Wroclaw.

LETS - Local Economy Trade System in Krakow.  
[testcyf@kredopl](mailto:testcyf@kredopl)

LETS - Local Economy Trade System in Poznan.  
[lets@poland.com](mailto:lets@poland.com)

"LITTLE MARY" - anarchist squat in Czestochowa;  
 ul. Warszawska 249/25;

"Mac Pariadka" - anarchist magazine in polish; [pariadka@polbox.com](mailto:pariadka@polbox.com)

"PILON" - underground bar/cafe open Mo-Sa from  
 6pm; adress: ulica Bulwar Filadelfijski - Torun (under the  
 only one car bridge in the city).

RAAF (Radical Anti-Fascist Action) - po box 43; 15-  
 662 Bialystok 26. [pkropotkin@wp.pl](mailto:pkropotkin@wp.pl)

"Radical Cheer Leaders" - anarchist female cheer  
 leaders team based in Warszawa. Contact through  
 Emancypunx.

"ROZBRAT" - squat / anarchist centre, ul. Pulaskiego  
 21a; Poznan.

S.E.K.W. "KRZYK" - squat / anarchist centre, po box  
 2; 44-101 Gliwice (ul. Sienkiewicza 25; tel. +48  
 504878370).

"streFA" - infoshop in Szczecin; ul. Domanskiego 1c;  
 tel. 504935357.

"SZWEJK" - anti-military service; ul. Pulaskiego 21a;  
 po box 5; 60-966 Poznan 31

"TEKNO COLLECTIVE" - underground techno  
 crew from Torun; [sadi@poczta.onet.pl](mailto:sadi@poczta.onet.pl)

WIEDZMA (the WITCH) - anarcha feminist group;  
[www.wiedzma.w.pl](http://www.wiedzma.w.pl)

"YA BANDA" - anarchist samba band  
 Milanówek/Warszawa. [olga23@go2.pl](mailto:olga23@go2.pl)

### Romania

AACTIV-IST Collective Timisoara, Antifa auto-  
 nome / anarchist punk group -  
[aactivistcollective@yahoo.com](mailto:aactivistcollective@yahoo.com); [pinkpanthers@k.ru](mailto:pinkpanthers@k.ru);  
[aac@bumerang.ro](mailto:aac@bumerang.ro)

A Nem - ecological, social and (counter) cultural cen-  
 ter, in the mountains Cheile Nerei; [anctivistcollective@yahoo.com](mailto:anctivistcollective@yahoo.com)

Actiunea Anarhista (Anarchist Action) - spleenpa-



Educate -- Organize -- Protest

# MORE BLOOD MORE FUN?



**"Bullet"**  
(about NORD-OST events)

Bullet to the face of a sleeping man  
Civil rest guaranteed by the power!  
Terrorism, trouble of the XXI century,  
A half-lie of your government.  
Hard to die asleep  
Not in ones bad - in a cold hall  
Not under ones blanket,  
but with a TNT at the heart,  
Heart full with pain and sorry.  
When They kill, it is good,  
They are sanctioned by society,  
Society sitting in front of its TV's  
Anabiotic in informational slavery.  
Democracy - everyone has its right  
For a religion, will and speech,  
Shot to the face is also democracy,  
Democracy no one speaks about.  
You know they were killed asleep,  
But their eyes wide open.  
Your eyes are closed,  
Open them. It is possible!

**"America!"**

I feel I am happy,  
Not to be born in Iraq  
My heart not a silent beast  
Beating overwhelmed with fear  
I feel I am happy,  
Happy there is no oil in my land.  
Under a bulk of a broken bricks,  
Not me or you will awaken!  
America is thirsting for blood!  
America is thirsty!

Text by Jiheart  
(anarcho SE punk band from Belarus)

Analyse -- Resist -- Create New



ti@yahoo.co.uk

C.A.F. (Craiova Anarho Front) - anarchist collective from city of Craiova. libertaera@yahoo.com

Gluga Neagra / Black Hood Distribution - diy anarchist-anarchopunk distribution; gluganeagra@hotmail.com

"Revolta 1" - anarchist newsletter; activistcollective@yahoo.com

"Revolutionshop" - anarchist infoshop in Craiova; revolutionshop@hotmail.com

## Russia

A-Distro - distribution of anarchist publications; po box 13; 109028 Moscow; dikobrazi@lists.moscow

http://www.tao.ca/~dikobraz/distro

Alliance of Kazan Anarchists - antimil@narod.ru; http://antimil.narod.ru

"ANARCHIVE" - russian language electronic library and archive of anarchist theory and practice; http://anarchiv.dan.ru

Anarchist group of Nizhni Novgorod P. O. Box 25 603104 Nizhni Novgorod Russia ad\_nn@mail.ru

Animal and Earth Liberation in Russia - PO Box. 135, Sochi, Russia, 354065. e-mail:unliberation@nnlib.ru

ANTI-FA Samara - anti\_fa@mail.ru

ASSOCIATION OF ANARCHIST MOVEMENTS (ADA) - see "Noviy Svet" newspaper contact address

Confederation of Revolutionary Anarcho-Sindicalists - lack of contact address.

Free Trade Unions Confederation - Tomsk; http://kulac.narod.ru

Indymedia Russia - (in Russian language) http://russia.indymedia.org; e-mails: indyru@mail.ru; indymoskwa@pochtamt.ru (Moscow);

indymedia\_piter@pochtamt.ru (Petersburg); smeshno@riseup.net (Kiev, Ukraine)

IOKAS / Irkutsk Organization Of Anarcho-Syndicalist Federation; www.angelfire.com/via/IOKAS; sidonovan@mail.ru

JERRY RUBIN CLUB - Moscow punk club, cooperating with anarchists and environmentalists; jrc@nn.ru; http://jarryclub.narod.ru

KRAS - IWA (Confederation of Revolutionary Anarchosindicalists) - Moscow: c/o Vadim Danier, Pereulok Alynova 13 Kv 24; 107258 Moscow; comanar@mail.ru; Saint Petersburg: MPST; mpst@mail.ru; http://www.geocities.com/libcomru; http://mpst.sx.org; Saint-Petersburg

"MEGAPHON" - magazine of anarchist, anticapitalist, antiwar, labour, environmental and other kinds of activism; megaphon@mail.ru.com

"NOVIY SVET" - anarchist newspaper; new-world@mail.admiral.ru; http://novsvet.narod.ru (all issues since 1989).

"NOZHI I VILKI" - political punk/hardcore fanzine; zilonis@mail.ru.com; Dmitry Ivanov, p.o. box 30, S. Petersburg, 195009, Russia

OLD SKOOL KIDS - punk/hardcore kids and distro old-schoolkids@yahoo.com; http://oskids.nn.ru

PETERSBURG ANTIWAR COMMITTEE - see "Noviy Svet" contact address

PETERSBURG LEAGUE OF ANARCHISTS - see "Noviy Svet" contact address

RAINBOW KEEPERS - radical environmental movement. Contact addresses:

Nizhniy Novgorod - yulika@dron.ru, klem@dron.ru

Votkinsk - votkinskirk@mail.ru

Kasimov - rk@rkryazan.ru

(this is also the address of Tretiy Put magazine)

Perm - pullark@rambler.ru

Volgograd - maasha@rambler.ru

Ekaterinburg - vy2@mail.ru, dqn@cel.ru

Moscow - pupxm@chru.ru, ikz@seuu.ru

Samara - duplo1@mail.ru, duplo@sam.ru

Rostov - rkostov@don.sitek.net

Petersburg - tiuli@mail.ru

Russian Anarchist Party; www.rpa-karelin.narod.ru

- page of anarchists from Karelia

S.H. SOUND SYSTEM - label & distro including political punk stuff; http://svinokop.narod.ru; diyhc@yahoo.com

Siberian Confederation of Labour - Omsk; http://www.skt.omsktown.ru

"UTOPIA" - anarchist magazine of revolution and counterculture; Vladimir Tupikin, p.o. box 80, m-208, Moscow, 117208, Russia; utopia@mail.ru.com

"Victor Serge's Library" - anarchist & communist library; Balaklavskij Prospekt, d.6 k.4, room 365; subway station "Tchertanovskaya"; Moscow; open: Tu 18-20, Sa 12-17.

"VOLYA" - anarchist newspaper (since 1989); obschtschina@pisem.net

"ZHEST" - anarcho-feminist magazine; zhest@pisem.net

AUTONOMOUS ACTION network:

Autonomous Action - network of anarchist & libertarian groups all over Russia; po box 13; 109028 Moscow. fak-kr@mail.ru

Autonomous Action of Krasnodar (also for Autonomous Action) P.O. Box 3472, 350001 Krasnodar Russia fak-kr@mail.ru

Autonomous Action of Moscow P. O. Box 13 109028 Moscow Russia dikobrazi@lists.moscow

Autonomous Action (antiglobalist initiative project) - po box 3472; Krasnodar 350001. anti\_bs@mail.ru

"Autonom" - regular publication of Autonomous Action.

Cities with individual members connected to Autonomous Action: (for Brest of Belarus, Kirov and Perm write to Krasnodar contact address)

Alma Ata - P. O. Box 149 480 000 Alma Ata Kazakhstan ad\_eldar@hotmail.com

Belorechensk - P. O. Box 5 352630 Belorechensk; Russia suvivse@hotmail.ru - Brynka - P. O. Box 10 94100

Chelyabinsk - P. O. Box 18742 454021 Chelyabinsk; Russia viial@chel.sumet.ru

Irkutsk - Vladimir Skraschuk Poste Restante 664056 Irkutsk; Russia

Izhevsk (Udmurtian republic) antiwar@udm.ru

Kaliningrad - ska-konig@mail.ru

Kasimov - P.O. Box 52 391330

Ryazanskaya oblast Russia - rk@lavnikryazan.ru

Kolomna - Yuri Popov Poste Restante 140476 Moscow oblast, glavpochtampt

Murmansk - P. O. Box 4614 183050 Murmansk; Russia

Novgorod - Vitaliya Lapikina Poste Restante 173014 Novgorod; Russia; holosik@yandex.ru

Novorossisk - P. O. Box 144 353907 Novorossisk; Russia; ger2@mail.ru

Rostov-na-Donu - P. O. Box 4059 344103 Rostov-na-Donu; Russia; neponyatny@pisem.net

Saint-Petersburg - Bolshakov A.E. Poste Restante 192281 Saint-Petersburg; Russia blackguard@mail.ru

Sochi - d\_m@pochtampt.ru

Tyumen - P. O. Box 4481 625001 Tyumen; Russia; rousmnn.f@hotmail.com

Volgograd - Vyacheslav Yashchenko ul. Novorossiskaya 16-56 400087; Volgograd; Russia

Voronezh - an-action@rambler.ru Anarh-vm@yandex.ru

Yaroslavl - yar\_anarchy@mail.ru

Yekaterinburg - kreator@mail.ru.ru

Yoshkar - Ola P. O. Box 76 424028 Mari Republic Russia

Websites of groups linked to Autonomous Action:

http://ad-direct.newmail.ru - federal site maintained from Novorossisk

http://redskin.newmail.ru - Red and Anarchist Skinheads RASH, maintained from Novorossisk

http://antijob.ru.ru - site against work, maintained from Moscow

http://anti-fa-da.ru - Anti-fascist project "Black and

Green resistance" from Samara

http://potok.hotmail.ru - website against Blue Stream gas pipeline, maintained from Novorossisk

http://wwwad-nn.narod.ru - Nizhni Novgorod group of anarchists

http://www.poc5.narod.ru - website of anarchist culture, maintained from Nizhni Novgorod

http://www.tao.ca/~dikobraz/distro - A-distro, biggest distributor of Anarchist literature in the former Soviet Union http://www.almaty-liberta.boom.ru - Libertarian communists in Kazakhstan

## Serbia

ASI / Anarcho-Syndicalist Initiative - is@inicijativa.org (international secretary); www.inicijativa.org

IAS-ADA - anarchist library of local group of IAS; c/o Slobodan Gajin, Vojvodjanskih Brigada 15b/8, 24430 Ada.

RRR (Radical Resource Room) - polit/cultural project in Kraljevo; kontra@pt.yu; www.kontra-punkt.info

\* www.anarchy-serbia.tk - new anarcho side from Serbia

## Slovakia

AFA-Bratislava (Antifascistická Akcia Bratislava) - bacity\_afa@yahoo.com

AFA-West (Antifascist Action in west Slovakia) - afa\_sk1@hotmail.com

CIRNY KRIZ (CK, Black Cross) - ciemnykriz@yahoo.com

CSAF/Slovakia - (CSAF - Czech-Slovakia Anarchist Federation); slovensko@csaf.cz

(international contact); regional contacts:

CSAF Bratislava - bratislava@csaf.cz

CSAF B.Bystrica - bbystrica@csaf.cz

CSAF Trencin - trencin@csaf.cz

CSAF Trnava - www.trnava.cz

CSAF Vychod - csaf\_sk\_vychod@yahoo.com;

Nakladateľstvo Bod Zlom (NBZ, Point of Fault) - publisher of anarchist literature; lack of contact address.

PRIAMA AKCIA (Direct Action) - radical social anarchist organization / anarchist union; po box 16; 840 08 Bratislava 48; priamakcia@yahoo.com

## Slovenia

AC MOLOTOV - cultural-political social centre (squat) in Ljubljana; Kuninska 3; 1000 Ljubljana; events@acmolotov.org; www.acmolotov.org

AFA LJ - Antifascistická Akcija Ljubljana; anarchist AFA group; afa.lj@volja.net

SAF / Social Anarchist Federation - saf.info@email.si

www.ruleless.com - slovenian anarchist portal

## Ukraine

Autonomous Action / Lugansk - com\_act@mail.ru

"Nabat" - ukrainian libertarian anarchist newspaper;

www.nabat.info; azarov@hotbox.ru

www.zaraz.org - page of anarchists from Kyiv

www.tigra-nigraby.ru - anarchist group from Kyiv

"anarh akbar" - @-zine from city of Sumy; P.O.Box 131; 40-030 Sumy; Ukraine (no name on envelope!)

## Turkey

ABC / Anarchist Black Crescent - abcankara@yahoo.com

"İsimsiz" - anarchist counter-magazine; isimsiz\_dergi@yahoo.com

"Kara Gazete" - anarchist street newsletter; http://karagazete.ports.com

kara tren kolektifi (blacktrain collective) - travelling distribution of anarchist literature, info and material; karatren@sofhome.net;

http://ankarafanzin.freesevers.com - zine from Ankara

http://veganarsi.cjb.net - anarcho-primitivist zine

www.geocities.com/kaosyayinlari - anarchist publisher in Istanbul

www.mecmu-a.org - magazine from Istanbul

THIS LIST CAN BE ENLARGE AND KEEP CURRENT ONLY WITH YOUR HELP, SO WE ARE CALLING ALL GROUPS AND ACTIVISTS AROUND THE EASTERN EUROPE FOR HELP THROUGH CONTACTING US EACH TIME WHEN YOU REALIZE THAT ANYTHING NEED TO BE CHANGE OR ADD ON THESE TWO PAGES.